

Memorandum



Dep. Dir.	
ADD Adm.	
ADD Inv.	
Asst. Dir.:	
Adm. Servs.	
Crim. Inv.	
CJIS	
Info. Mgmt.	
Insp.	
Intell.	
Lab.	
Legal Coun.	
Tech. Servs.	
Training	
Off. of EEOA	
Off. Liaison	
& Int. Affs.	
Off. of Public	
& Cong. Affs.	
TQM Office	
Telephone Rm.	
Director's Office	

-b6
-b7c

To *WAB* Mr.

Date 4/4/94

From *JKO* J. Kevin O'Brien

Subject : FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA) RELEASE OF DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) OF B'NAI B'RITH TO SCOTT THOMPSON

PURPOSE: To advise of the release of documents from the New York Field Office main files pertaining to the ADL on April 18, 1994.

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information only.

APPROVED: *WAB*
 Director _____
 Deputy Director _____
 Info. Res. *WAB*
 Inspection _____
 Laboratory _____
 Off. of EEO _____
 Affairs _____
 Off. of Public _____
 & Cong. Affs. _____

DETAILS: By letter dated February 4, 1989, (actual date of letter is 1990), Mr. Thompson submitted an FOIA request to the New York Field Office for material in their files pertaining to the ADL. Since that time, cross-references to the ADL in New York Field Office files on other subjects have been processed and released to Mr. Thompson. Pursuant to existing policy, three New York main files pertaining to the ADL have been forwarded to FBI Headquarters for processing and release to Mr. Thompson.

Enclosure

190-58674

- 1 - Mr. Binney, Room 7125
- 1 - Mr. Collingwood, Room 7240
- 1 - Mr. Room 7176
- 1 - Mr. H. Shapiro, Room 7126
- 1 - Mr. Room 7126
- 1 - Miss Room 7176
- 1 - Ms. Room 7176
- 1 - IRD Front Office, Room 5829
- 1 - Mr. O'Brien, Room 6296
- 1 - Mr. Moran, Room 6387
- 1 - Mr. Room 6780
- 1 - Mrs. Room 6780

DK:jmr (13)

(CONTINUED-OVER)

63-149-106 3619-119

OK 1-ENCLOSURE

MEMORANDUM FROM J. KEVIN O'BRIEN TO MR.
RE: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA) RELEASE OF
DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE ANTI-DEFAMATION
LEAGUE (ADL) OF B'NAI B'RITH TO SCOTT THOMPSON

b6
b7c

Mr. Thompson is a journalist for the Executive Intelligence Review who is currently in litigation with the FBI regarding certain field office records pertaining to the ADL, including these New York Field Office files (Scott Thompson v. U. S. Department of Justice; U.S.D.C. for the District of Columbia; Civil Action No. 93-1219).

The current release of material consists of New York Field Office files concerning an Extortion investigation, a Department of State-Inquiry investigation, and a public relations/correspondence administrative file. This material clearly documents the liaison between the New York Field Office and the New York office of the ADL, which each field office was required to establish upon the instructions of former Director J. Edgar Hoover. This practice was continued under former Director William Webster.

This memorandum is being submitted to advise of the release of this material to Mr. Thompson inasmuch as it will reveal the extent of the liaison between the FBI and the ADL, which included advice and review by Special Agents regarding the security measures at the New York Office of the ADL during February, 1979 (see attached documents).

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016, TEL. 689-7400

NATIONAL COMMISSION OFFICERS

National Chairman
MAXWELL L. GLENBERG

Honorary Chairmen
SEYMOUR GRAUBARD
BURTON M. JOSEPH
BORE SCHARY
HENRY E. SCHULTZ

Chairman, National
Executive Committee
KENNETH J. BIALKIN

Honorary Vice-Chairmen
LEONARD L. ABESS
EDGAR M. BRONFMAN
MAXWELL DANE
LAWRENCE A. HARVEY
JACOB K. JAVITS
PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK
ARTHUR LEVITT
SAMUEL H. MILLER
ROBERT R. NATHAN
ABRAHAM A. RIDICOFF
MATTHEW B. ROSENHAUS
BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
WILLIAM SACHS
MELVIN H. SCHLESINGER
SAMUEL O. SHAPIRO
THEODORE H. SILBERT
RICHARD STONE
SIDNEY R. YATES

Vice-Chairmen
DOROTHY WINSTOCK
JERRY DUBROF
BRUCE I. HOCHMAN
MAX M. KAMPELMAN
PHILIP KRUPP
MILTON MOLLEN

Vice-Chairman, National
Executive Committee
THOMAS D. MANTEL

Honorary Treasurers
BENJAMIN GREENBERG
RICHARD M. LEDERER, JR.

Treasurer
J. LEO GORDON

Assistant Treasurer
HOWARD P. BERKOWITZ

Secretary
MARTIN L. C. FELDMAN

Assistant Secretary
SEYMOUR REICH

National Director
BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN

President, B'nai B'rith
JACK J. SPITZER

Executive Vice-President,
B'nai B'rith
DANIEL THURSZ

President, B'nai B'rith Women
EVELYN WASSERSTROM

Associate National Director
and General Counsel
ARNOLD FORSTER

National Director Designate
NATHAN PERLMUTTER

Associate National Director Designate
ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN

STAFF DIRECTORS

Administration
HAROLD L. ADLER

Civil Rights
JUSTIN J. FINGER

Communications
DAVID SURECK

Community Service
ROBERT C. KOHLER

Program
THEODORE GREENMAN

January 9, 1979

The Honorable William H. Webster
The Federal Bureau of Investigation
J. Edgar Hoover Building
Washington, D.C. 20535

AUTOMATED RECORD

Dear Judge Webster:

I want to express my deep appreciation to you for sharing your precious time with us when we met with you last week.

To reiterate: we are ready to be of such assistance to the Bureau, within the area of our competence and authority, as is possible. We very much appreciated your candor as well as your obvious concern for our mutually held values.

We are looking forward to hearing from you as to the identity of the person with whom we might meet to share such information as we may have from time to time. Also, we are very pleased with your suggestion that you would advise us as to who from the New York FBI might counsel us on security measures for our soon-to-be new home at 823 United Nations Plaza. This building is currently the Carnegie International Center.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Nathan Perlmutter

cc: Justin J. Finger
ra

OPEN (REOPEN)
ORIGIN NY
80-1751-1

b7c

80-1751-1

63-114-1063619-119

ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

February 5, 1979

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

"AUTOMATED RECORD"

Dear Mr. Perlmutter:

Thank you for your letter of January 9, 1979, which arrived during my extended absence from the city. I appreciate your offer of assistance to the Bureau and we welcome the cooperation we have enjoyed with you in the past.

Any information which you might wish to share with us should be communicated to Deputy Assistant Director James O. Ingram at FBI Headquarters. You understand of course that the receipt and collection of information are subject to the Attorney General's guidelines. Mr. Ingram is of course conversant with these guidelines.

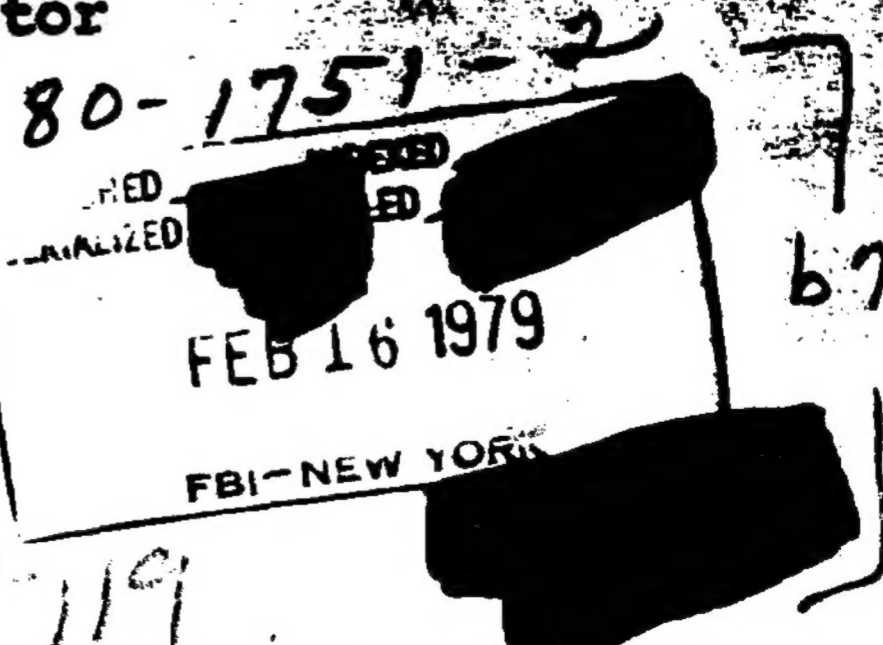
With respect to security measures for your prospective headquarters in New York, I suggest that you contact Assistant Director Neil Welch at our New York office. He will be pleased to assist you or refer you to the appropriate official within our New York Division.

It was a pleasure meeting with you on your last visit. With warm good wishes,

Sincerely,

William H. Webster
Director

1 ADIC Neil Welch (Encl.)
New York Office



ENCLOSURE
RECORDED COPY FILED IN

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

15 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016, TEL. 689-7400

NATIONAL COMMISSION
OFFICERSNational Chairman
MAXWELL E. GREENBERGHonorary Chairman
SEYMOUR GRAUBARD
BURTON M. JOSEPH
BORE SCHARY
HENRY E. SCHULTZChairman, National
Executive Committee
KENNETH J. BIALKINHonorary Vice-Chairman
LEONARD L. ABESS
EDGAR M. BROTHMAN
MAXWELL DANE
LAWRENCE A. HARVEY
JACOB K. JAVITS
PHILIP M. KLUTZNICKARTHUR LEVITT
SAMUEL H. MILLER
BERNARD NATH
ROBERT R. NATHAN
ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF
MATTHEW B. ROSENHAUS
BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL
WILLIAM SACHS
MELVIN H. SCHLESINGER
SAMUEL D. SHAPIRO
THEODORE H. SILBERT
RICHARD STONE
SIDNEY R. YATESVice-Chairman
DOROTHY BINSTOCK
JERRY DUBROF
BRUCE I. HOCHMAN
MAX M. KAMPELMAN
PHILIP KRUPP
MILTON MOLLEN
Vice-Chairman, National
Executive Committee
THOMAS D. MANTELHonorary Treasurers
BENJAMIN GREENBERG
RICHARD M. LEDERER, JR.Treasurer
J. LEO GORDONAssistant Treasurer
HOWARD P. BERKOWITZSecretary
MARTIN L. C. FELDMANAssistant Secretary
SEYMOUR REICHNational Director
BENJAMIN R. EPSTEINPresident, B'nai B'rith
JACK J. SPITZERExecutive Vice-President,
B'nai B'rith
DANIEL THURSZPresident, B'nai B'rith Women
EVELYN WASSERSTROMAssociate National Director
and General Counsel
ARNOLD FORSTERNational Director Designate
WYMAN PERLMUTTERAssociate National Director Designate
ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN

STAFF DIRECTORS

Administration
HAROLD L. ADLERCivil Rights
JUSTIN J. FINGERCommunications
DAVID SURECKCommunity Service
ROBERT C. KOHLERProgram
THEODORE FREEDMAN

February 26, 1979

ASST. DIR.

SAC 1

SAC 2

SAC 3

SAC 4

SAC, DQ

SAC, HR

SUPV.

SUPV.

SUPV.

SSNA

SSA

Mr. Neil Welch, Assistant Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
26 Federal Plaza, 28th Floor
New York, New York 10007

"AUTOMATED RECORD"

Dear Mr. Welch:

On Thursday, February 15, [REDACTED] and several of his colleagues from your office met with me and other ADL officials for the purpose of reviewing security measures at our prospective headquarters building at 345 East 46th Street, New York.

They were most helpful in pointing out certain problem areas. The next day [REDACTED] telephoned and provided me with a recap of their inspection and suggested that, in light of the nature of the building and its tenants, we ought consider retaining a private security consultant. We have followed through on this recommendation.

On behalf of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, I want to thank you and your staff persons for the valuable assistance rendered to us on this matter. We appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Justin J. Finger, Director
National Civil Rights Division

JJF/cm

cc: Judge William H. Webster

80-1751-3
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
MAR 1 1979 b7c

ENCLOSURE

80-1751-3

ASST. DIR

SAC 1

SAC 2

SAC 3

SAC 4

SAC, BO

SAC, H

SAC, I

SAC, J

SAC, K

SAC, L

SAC, M

SAC, N

SAC, O

SAC, P

SAC, Q

SAC, R

SAC, S

SAC, T

SAC, U

SAC, V

SAC, W

SAC, X

SAC, Y

SAC, Z

March 21, 1979

id
b7c

Mr. Justin J. Finger
Director
National Civil Rights Division
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Finger:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your February 26th letter to Assistant Director Welch. I was pleased to learn that some of my colleagues led by Special Agent b7c [redacted] were of assistance to you. We hope your security system will be effective and that you will not hesitate to call on us again if we can be of assistance.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Webster
William H. Webster
Director

① - New York - Enclosure
b7c [redacted] Attention ADIC: Also bring to the attention of SA [redacted] and other appropriate personnel. 80-1751-5

SA [redacted]
SA [redacted] ←
copy made

MAILED
1979
b7c

[Handwritten signature]

53-174-1065512-119
ENCLOSURE

219

May 19, 1995

Mr. Jess N. Hordes, Director
Washington, D.C. Office
Anti-Defamation League
1100 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Suite 1020
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Hordes:

This is in response to your letter to Attorney General Reno, dated April 24, 1995, in which you enclosed a copy of the 1994 Anti-Defamation League report entitled, "Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government," as well as several other pamphlets. A copy of this material was forwarded to my office by the Attorney General for review.

At this time, I would like to express my gratitude to you for sharing this information. Please be assured that this material will receive appropriate scrutiny. Once again, I thank you for your interest and assistance.

Sincerely yours,

/s/

Robert M. Bryant
Assistant Director in Charge
National Security Division

63-HQ-1063619-120

ENCLOSURE

FBI

MAILED 13

MAY 30 1995

Dep. Dir. _____
ADD Adm. _____
ADD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Adm. Servs. _____
Crim. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Info. Mgnt. _____
Insp. _____
Intell. _____
Lab. _____
Legal Coun. _____
Tech. Servs. _____
Training _____
Cong. Affs. Off. _____
Off. of EEO _____
Off. Liaison & _____
Int. Affs. _____
Off. of Public Affs. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director's Office _____

NOTE: The above letter expresses thanks to Mr. Jess N. Hordes, Director of the Washington, D.C. Office of the Anti-Defamation League, for providing a copy of the 1994 Anti-Defamation League report entitled, "Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government," as well as several other pamphlets.

Mr. J. P. O'Neill
DJJ:djj (7)

APPROVED:

Director

Deputy Director

1 - Mr. R. Cimusz
1 - Mr. _____

Crim. Inv. _____ Laboratory _____
Crim. Jus. Info. _____ Legal Counsel _____
Servs. _____ National Sec. _____
Finance _____ Personnel _____
Info. Res. _____ Training _____
Inspection _____

Off. of EEO
Affairs
Off. of Public
& Cong. Affs.

b6
b7C

MAIL ROOM ☒

mes
5437
RMB/bar



Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D.C.

May 1, 1995

Mr. Jess N. Hordes
Director, Washington, D.C. Office
Anti-Defamation League
1100 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 1020
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Hordes:

Thank you for sending to me the 1994 Anti-Defamation League report, entitled, **Armed & Dangerous: Militias Take Aim At The Federal Government**. As you know, this information is critically important in the wake of the tragedy in Oklahoma City. I appreciate your sharing this with the Department and have forwarded it to staff for their review and attention.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Janet Reno", is written over the typed name.

Janet Reno

63-HQ-1063619-120

ENCLOSURE

OFFICERS OF THE
NATIONAL COMMISSION

National Chairman
DAVID H. STRASSLER

National Director
ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN

Chairman
National Executive Committee
HOWARD P. BERKOWITZ

Chief Operating Officer
PETER T. WILLNER

Honorary Chairmen
KENNETH J. BIALKIN
SEYMOUR GRAUBARD
MAXWELL E. GREENBERG
BURTON M. JOSEPH
BURTON S. LEVINSON
MELVIN SALBERG

Vice-Chairmen
MEYER EISENBERG
THOMAS HOMBURGER
JUDI KRUPP
ALLAN MARGOLIS
LESTER POLLACK
JOEL SPRAYREGEN

Honorary Vice-Chairmen
LEONARD L. ABESS
DOROTHY BINSTOCK
RUDY BOSCHWITZ
EDGAR M. BRONFMAN
MAXWELL DANE
MAX FISHER
BRUCE I. HOCHMAN
GERI M. JOSEPH
MAX M. KAMPELMAN
SAM KANE
PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK
PHILIP KRUPP
SAMUEL H. MILLER
BERNARD D. MINTZ
MILTON MOLLEN
BERNARD NATH
ROBERT R. NATHAN
ANITA PERLMAN
SIDNEY R. YATES

Vice-Chair
National Executive Committee
BARBARA BALSER

Honorary Chairmen
National Executive Committee
DAVID A. ROSE
RONALD B. SOBEL

Treasurer
ROBERT H. NAFTALY

Assistant Treasurer
SYDNEY JARKOW

Honorary Treasurers
CHARLES GOLDRING
MOE KUDLER

Secretary
IRVING SHAPIRO

President, B'nai B'rith
KENT E. SCHINER

Executive Vice President
B'nai B'rith
SIDNEY CLEARFIELD

President
B'nai B'rith Women
SUSAN BRUCK

Acting Director
B'nai B'rith Women
GAIL WOOD

ASSISTANT NATIONAL DIRECTORS

Development
STUART TAUBER

Program, International Affairs
KENNETH JACOBSON

DIVISION DIRECTORS

Civil Rights
JEFFREY P. SINENSKY

Community Service
ANN TOLK

Finance and Administration
BOBBIE ARBESFELD

Intergroup Relations
CHARNEY V. BROMBERG

Leadership
Assistant to the National Director
MARK D. MEDIN

Marketing and Communications
MARK A. EDELMAN

Washington Representative
JESS N. HORDES

General Counsel
ARNOLD FORSTER

Associate General Counsel
JUSTIN J. FINGER

Anti-Defamation League

Washington, D.C. Office



JESS N. HORDES
Director

MICHAEL LIEBERMAN
Associate Director/Counsel

STACY BURDETT
Assistant Director

April 24, 1995

The Honorable Janet Reno
Attorney General
Department of Justice
10th & Constitution Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20530

Dear Madam Attorney General:

In the aftermath of the tragic bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City, we wanted to make sure you had a number of Anti-Defamation League publications on organizations in the extremist movement in the United States and their leaders. Included in the enclosed materials is an October, 1994 ADL Fact Finding report, "Armed & Dangerous: Militias Take Aim At The Federal Government."

For decades, ADL has served as a reliable source of information on hate groups and responses to violent bigotry. ADL's focus has been to expose the activities of these anti-democratic organizations -- some of which have attracted racists and anti-Semites -- and to craft legal and legislative responses to their activities. In the early 1980's, ADL proposed a model Anti-Paramilitary Training Statute, which has now been adopted in 22 states. This legislation expands the jurisdiction for state and local law enforcement officials to take steps to prevent paramilitary training for individuals preparing to engage in an illegal civil disorder. A copy of the ADL's Anti-Paramilitary Training Statute is included as part of our militia report.

Please do not hesitate to contact our office if you have any questions about these reports or if we can be of assistance to you in any way.

Sincerely,

Jess N. Hordes
Washington Representative

Encl.



An ADL Fact Finding Report

ARMED & DANGEROUS:

MILITIAS TAKE AIM AT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Anti-Defamation League

1994

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

David H. Strassler, *National Chairman*

Abraham H. Foxman, *National Director*

Howard P. Berkowitz, *Chairman, National Executive Committee*

Peter T. Willner, *Chief Operating Officer*

Kenneth Jacobson, *Assistant National Director*

Robert G. Sugarman, *Chairman, Civil Rights Committee*

Jeffrey P. Sinensky, *Director, Civil Rights Division*

Gary Zaslav, *Chairman, Fact Finding and Research Committee*

This publication was prepared by Irwin Suall, Director of Special Projects;
Thomas Halpern, Associate Director, Fact Finding Department;
David Rosenberg, Assistant Director, Fact Finding Department;
and James Q. Purcell, Assistant to the Civil Rights Director.

© 1994 Anti-Defamation League
Printed in the United States of America
All rights reserved

Introduction

Bands of armed right-wing militants, most calling themselves "militias," are cropping up across America. They have no centralized structure, but there are linkages among some of them, consisting largely of the sharing of propaganda material and speakers. A survey conducted by the Anti-Defamation League has found evidence of their activity in no fewer than 13 states.

The aims of these militias, often bellicosely stated, involve laying the groundwork for massive resistance to the federal government and its law enforcement agencies as well as opposition to gun control laws. In the view of many such extremists, numbering in the thousands, America's government is the enemy, now widening its authoritarian control and planning warfare against the citizenry.

To the militia ideologues, gun control legislation -- the Brady Law,¹ restrictions on assault weapons,² etc. -- are major stratagems in a secret government conspiracy to disarm and control the American people and abolish their Constitutional "right to bear arms."³ They are also obsessed with the role of government in two recent events -- the Branch Davidian confrontation in Waco⁴ and the Randy Weaver siege in Idaho⁵ -- which they interpret as signs

¹ The Brady Law requires a five-day waiting period in the sale of all handguns, during which time a background check will be performed on the purchaser through a national computerized network.

² The 1994 federal crime bill recently signed by President Clinton bans the sale and possession of 19 different types of assault weapons and limits gun clips to a maximum of 10 bullets.

³ The Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states: "A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

⁴ The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms (ATF) originally attempted to enter the Branch Davidian compound in order to seize illegal weapons and arrest those responsible. The residents of the compound resisted the raid through arms, killing four ATF agents. The residents then remained in the compound for several weeks until a second assault at which time the compound burst into flame killing more than 80 group members.

⁵ Randy Weaver, a white supremacist, failed to appear in Federal Court on a weapons charge in 1992. He hid out with his wife, his children, and an associate, Kevin Harris, in a cabin in a remote area of northern Idaho. The U.S. Marshals Service, learning of Weaver's whereabouts, surrounded the cabin. In the 11-day siege which followed, a Deputy Marshal, William Degan, and Weaver's son and wife were slain. Finally, Weaver and Harris surrendered. At their subsequent trial in July 1993, Harris was acquitted of all charges and Weaver was acquitted of all but two lesser charges, for which he served 15 months in jail. The incident has since been made into a cause celebre by right-wing extremists.

of impending tyranny. The answer, say these extremists, is ultimately, necessarily, *paramilitary* resistance. An armed and aroused citizenry must be mobilized and ready for a call to war.

For most, if not all, of the militias, the fear of government confiscation of their weapons is a paramount concern. Samuel Sherwood, head of the "U.S. Militia Association" in Idaho states: "When they come around to collect weapons, we'll have the legal and lawful structure to say 'no' to that." Randy Trochmann of the "Militia of Montana" gets tougher: "If and when the federal government decides to confiscate weapons, people will band together to stop them. They are not going to give up their guns." And the "enemy" easily becomes nightmare. Robert Pummer, a leader of the "Florida State Militia," says that his group is "capable of defending ourselves against chemical and biological agents."

Although thwarting gun control is the chief aim of the militias, they seek to turn the clock back on federal involvement in a host of other issues as well, e.g., education, abortion, the environment.

Case in point: Norman Olson, a regional militia commander in northern Michigan, envisioned violence erupting if present government policies continue. Olson, a Baptist minister who owns a gun shop, declared: "We're talking about a situation where armed conflict may be inevitable *if the country doesn't turn around*." (Emphasis added.) Most often the central issue of the militants has been the legality of guns themselves. Clearly, their deeper suspicions and terrors should be of concern: Is their militant cause merely the alleged gun-toting "right" of citizens? -- or is it the "turning around" of the U.S. itself from what the militants see as "treasonous" direction of the federal government's present policies? The question which no one can answer just yet is what, exactly, the "militias" intend to do with their guns.

Might they still, as many observers hope, limit themselves to the time-honored means provided by the Constitution -- freedom of expression, the ballot, the courts, the right of petition -- or do they intend to resort to lawlessness?

A recent episode in Virginia offers some partial but troubling evidence. Members of a militia group calling itself the Blue Ridge Hunt Club were arrested for possession of illegal weapons. The leader of the group, James Roy Mullins, and three others who were taken into custody, were found to be stockpiling weapons in their homes and storage facilities. Found on a computer disk in Mullins' home was a draft of the group's newsletter stating that it planned

a series of terrorist actions in furtherance of its aims. According to an ATF official, the group intended to further arm itself by raiding the National Guard Armory in Pulaski, Virginia.

A further and vexing problem uncovered by investigation of the growing militias is the presence in some of them -- even in leadership roles -- of persons with histories of racial and religious bigotry and of political extremism. In the Northwest, for example, we find militia leaders with backgrounds in the Aryan Nations movement, and elsewhere other erstwhile neo-Nazis and Ku Kluxers.

The militias are of concern and doubtless will remain so in the coming months; they are driven by a combustible issue in American life which remains unresolved -- that of gun control, an issue of urgency and passion in a society beset by violent crime. Coming head to head: a cry for weapons restrictions and a perceived Constitutional right. Most of those siding with the latter are law-abiding citizens who feel that guns are desirable for personal defense or for sport. Many of them feel that the National Rifle Association (NRA) adequately represents their concerns; others who see the NRA as too moderate have sought out more extreme advocates such as the American Pistol and Rifle Association (APRA). Of late, however, still others are resorting to the mustering of a far more desperate and dangerous "resistance" -- the militia movement that is the focus of this report.

There follows a state-by-state synopsis of militia activity.

Arizona

Efforts have recently begun in Arizona to create a militia movement. David Espy, who portrays himself a latter-day American Revolutionary captain, has attempted to organize militia meetings over the last several weeks. An advertisement he placed in the September 11 and 25, 1994 issues of the Prescott Courier announced a meeting in Paulden, Arizona of the "Association of the Sons of Liberty and the Volunteer Militia." The purpose of the meeting was to discuss plans for action against the federal government which, he asserts, "continue[s] to pass legislation that weaken our unalienable, private property and Bill of Rights (sic)." The formation of a militia is an integral part of Espy's plan:

So, everyone out there, who thinks that taking pride in owning firearms, is being fanatical or nuts, should remember where you are living and how we all got here to begin with. It wasn't by just sitting back and letting the government run our lives and usurping our fundamental rights as free people. So forgive me, if I see a clear and present danger with what is happening in our country today, and that I feel a genuine and rational need to form a volunteer militia force, if for no other reason than to [let] Washington know that there is still a large group of us out here that have inherited revolutionary DNA and are willing to fight for it until our dying breath.

Another aspect of his plan is a demand for "the legal cessation (sic) of Arizona from these federal United States."

Also active in Arizona is Gary D. Hunt, a man obsessed with the Waco Branch Davidian incident. Hunt himself was present during the siege in Waco and wrote about the event at the time, comparing the Branch Davidians to the original revolutionary Minutemen: "I understand why [the Minutemen] were willing to stand and face portions of the greatest military force in the world. And I understand why David Koresh and the other brave defenders of Mount Carmel stand fearlessly defending their home and mine."

More recently, Hunt has distributed a flier dated July 2, 1994 and labeled "Sons of Liberty No. 3." The flier describes the effectiveness of militias in the Revolutionary War and suggests that militias are again needed now. At the bottom of the flier, written in by hand, Hunt announced: "March on Phx FBI 8-25-94 5-6 p.m. to release the Branch Davidians. Bring legal signs + guns. Tell a friend." The FBI and Phoenix Police paid close attention, but the planned march never materialized.

Colorado

Militias in Colorado have benefitted from the support of a number of right-wing groups. Most active in the movement are so-called Patriot groups that proliferate throughout the state. Others showing support for militias in Colorado are the Constitutionists, the Guardians of American Liberties (GOAL), and state representative Charles Duke.

Militias, calling themselves Patriots, are being formed across the state and are currently operating in Lakewood, Longmont, Boulder, Greeley and Fort Collins. The Fort Collins group is led by Duncan Philp.

The Patriots' propaganda promotes the view that the federal government has betrayed the people and the Constitution through laws regarding home-schooling, abortion, taxation, freedom of speech and religion, and, most importantly, gun control. While calling on citizens to take political action (e.g., write their Congressmen, attend meetings, etc.), they also urge that people prepare to resist the government by forming militias and stockpiling weapons, groceries and other necessities for survival.

The Patriots publish a newsletter and sell tapes and videos through "The Patriot Library." Among the titles for sale are "The New World Order, Communist groups supported by Hillary Clinton," as well as tapes describing black helicopters said to be scrutinizing the actions of citizens in the western states. A June 22, 1994 "Patriot Factsheet" encouraged members to read, by computer access, *The Spotlight*, the organ of the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby.

Guardians of American Liberties, a multi-state organization centered in Boulder, is attempting to take a leadership role in the militia movement. It describes itself as a "national grassroots network of American Citizens formed to insure our government is free of corruption, that it is actively aligned with the will of the people and to safeguard the Constitution of the United States of America from all forms of corruption." GOAL has some 40 to 50 members in Colorado as well as claimed chapters in Texas, Arizona, California and Nevada. It has established a militia committee, although it is not clear what degree of success it has achieved in organizing militias in Colorado or elsewhere. GOAL literature lists these additional committees: a "Federal Reserve & IRS Committee," a "Political Prisoner Committee," and a

"Sovereignty & Freedom Committee," beneath which is printed the slogan, "Kick the Feds out of the Counties."

GOAL's leader, Stewart Webb, has appeared frequently on right-wing radio shows to discuss his various conspiracy theories regarding, among other issues, the S&L and BCCI scandals. Webb has a history of anti-Semitism. From the mid-1980's and into the 90's, he made a series of threatening anti-Semitic phone calls and continued to do so even after receiving a cease and desist order.

The Constitutionists, a Kansas-based extremist group whose leadership includes Evar Mecham, the impeached former governor of Arizona, has received support in its promotion of militias from Colorado State representative Charles Duke. Duke spoke at the group's June conference in Indianapolis and promoted the formation of militias as an effective way for citizens to protect themselves from the government. At a Patriots meeting last July, Duke said: "We need some ability to get some firepower to protect the citizens. I would like to see a militia...[the type] that functions as a sheriff's posse and has sufficient training."

Radio station KHNC in Johnstown has offered its facilities to the Patriots and other groups active in the militia movement. KHNC broadcasts continuous Patriot programs and talks on "conservative issues." Among regulars on the station are Bo Gritz (see Idaho section of this report) and Dr. Norm Resnick, an outspoken opponent of gun control. In addition to using the radio to air their views, Colorado militias also disseminate information on computer bulletin boards that reach readers across the country. ~~The Colorado Free Militia and Boulder Patriot~~ for example, are promoted on the New Age Electronic Information Service, a Colorado bulletin board.

Florida

Several groups using the name "militia" have appeared in Florida.⁶ Among them are groups whose handbooks and leaflets variously engage in anti-Semitic innuendo, serve up alarmist warnings of a government conspiracy to abolish individual rights (especially gun ownership rights), and specify the amount of ammunition and other material each militia member is expected to carry.

One such outfit is the Florida State Militia, whose prime mover is Robert Pummer of Stuart, in Martin County. Pummer, a Kansas native who was a drug dealer in Michigan in the early 1970's and served time for second-degree murder, has been agitating on some of the same issues exploited by militia-style groups around the country: gun control, the Branch Davidian conflagration in Waco, the Randy Weaver siege at Ruby Ridge in Idaho, allegations of Russian and other foreign troops operating on U.S. soil, and other conspiracy-minded themes. He claims members in every Florida county.

The Florida State Militia's handbook, published by Pummer, declares: "[W]e have had enough -- enough drugs and crime, enough violence and bloodshed, enough Waco- and Ruby Ridge-style government attacks on Christian Americans." The handbook explains how to organize militia regiments. It prescribes the recommended survival gear and weaponry: "BUY AMMO NOW! YOU WILL NOT BE ABLE TO BUY IT LATER!" While expressing worry over the possibility of infiltration, the handbook offers the following reassurance: "[Y]ou still have your inner circle, and this the FBI, ATF, or any other federal scumbags cannot penetrate, if you keep up your guard."

Publications contained in a "Patriot List" in the Florida State Militia's handbook include several anti-Semitic periodicals: *The Spotlight*, organ of the Washington, D.C.-based Liberty Lobby, the wealthiest and most active anti-Semitic propaganda organization in the country; *The Truth At Last*, an obsessively anti-Black and anti-Jewish hate sheet produced by longtime extremist Ed Fields of Marietta, Georgia; *Criminal Politics*, a conspiracy-oriented anti-Semitic, "anti-Zionist" and anti-establishment monthly; and *The National Educator*, whose pages have honored the leaders of the far-right terrorist gang called The Order and the neo-Nazi paramilitary

⁶ Not included in this report are those militias that exist merely as resolutions by some county commissions to demonstrate their symbolic opposition to gun control.

group, Aryan Nations. The handbook says a short-wave radio is an essential piece of communications equipment. It particularly endorses the Liberty Lobby-controlled program "Radio Free America" as one source that transmits "what the mainstream media will not tell you."

Pummer's militia sponsored an Information Fair and Campout in St. Lucie County on the weekend of September 17, 1994. The event attracted approximately 100 attendees, including some parents who came with their children. Most attendees carried firearms, including some semi-automatic weapons. Many wore knives. A workshop on radio communications was conducted by a man who identified himself as a retired police chief and Air Force officer. All attendees were encouraged to attend the U.S. Constitution Restoration Rally in Lakeland, Florida, on October 1 (see below).

A Key Largo-based group calls itself alternately the United States Militia and the 1st Regiment Florida State Militia. Making a specious claim to legitimacy from such documents as the U.S. Constitution, the Federalist Papers, the Florida Constitution and Florida statutes, this group has been attempting to recruit members at "patriotic" and anti-gun control gatherings in Florida. Mimicking the style of the Declaration of Independence, its literature speaks of a "Train of Abuses" perpetrated on state and local governments and the citizenry by the federal government. "Just as our Founding Fathers of this country shook off their shackles of bondage," the group declares, "so must we."

The militia's regulations state that "County units will be organized in each county of the state." Militia members are told to expect to spend one weekend a month engaging in unit activities including rallies, shooting events and fund raisers. A list of suitable equipment is provided, which includes one thousand rounds of ammunition per weapon and six 30-round magazines for each militia member. While the group's regulations state that "The unit may not be used against the police or governmental authority within the state of Florida," an exception may be made when such an "entity" commits "crimes of violation of their oath of office" and of "sections or articles of the Constitution of the United States of America and of this state."

The United States Militia's material was distributed at a U.S. Constitution Restoration Rally in Lakeland, Florida, on October 1, 1994. Attended by 1,000 to 1,500 people, the event was sponsored by Operation Freedom, an outfit created by Charles and Ruth Ann Spross of Maitland, Florida. The Sprosses describe their effort as a "for profit partnership," and, indeed,

they offer for sale scores of video and book titles, such as "The Planned Destruction of America" and Linda Thompson's "Waco, The Big Lie." Featured on the schedule at the October 1 gathering was a speech by M. J. "Red" Beckman, of Montana, who has been influential in the militia movement in his home state.

Distributed along with the speakers program at the rally was a sheet bearing the heading: "Paul Revere Rides Again." It proclaimed: "A strong and growing Underground Patriotic Movement with state-wide militia groups exists against The Sinister Ones that is unreported by the monopolistic and controlled establishment media." (sic) Identifying such enemies as the House of Rothschild, international bankers, the Federal Reserve System and the Trilateral Commission, the flier asked: "What is the range of British and Israeli influence in the upper tiers?" It urged readers to "Stockpile food, water, guns and ammo. Never surrender your weapons.... Subscribe to the weekly populist newspaper *The Spotlight*.... Form or attend meetings with other spirited patriots.... Consider yourself warned!"

Also distributed in large numbers at the rally was a flier urging that "All Gun Owners Should Fire A WARNING SHOT As A Signal To The New Congress" on November 11 at 11:00 pm. "Congress has failed to safeguard the Bill of Rights," it reads, "especially the 2nd Amendment." It further declares:

A warship will fire a warning shot across the bow, a rattlesnake will sound off; these warnings are never ignored. It is time to warn politicians that if they do not respect the Bill of Rights they should at least fear the wrath of the People. Congress is forcing the country into a civil war.

A group in Tampa that claims alignment with a national "patriot movement" has ordered four judges and several Hillsborough County officials, including the tax collector, to give themselves up for arrest to the group's so-called Constitutional Court. Founder of the group, Emilio Ippolito, and his daughter, Susan Mokdad, reportedly said they have an unarmed militia composed of volunteers to execute the Constitutional Court's orders. Subsequently, Ed Brown, an activist with an armed militia group in New Hampshire, contacted Florida law enforcement authorities, prosecutors' offices and the Florida Bar Association to express support for Ippolito's "court."

Idaho

As in other parts of the country, the recent rise of militias in Idaho can be linked to four events: the Randy Weaver siege, the Waco disaster, the passage of the Brady Law and the federal anti-crime law. Idaho militias identify particularly closely with the Weaver incident because it took place inside the state and because some key militia figures in the region were allied with Weaver and indeed participated in the events surrounding the siege.

Samuel Sherwood, an Idaho militia leader, has recruited hundreds of Idahoans into his United States Militia Association. At a July meeting in Blackfoot, Idaho, Sherwood reportedly told potential recruits that President Clinton's crime bill authorized the government to hire 100,000 former Royal Hong Kong police to come to America to enforce gun control laws. As of August 1994, Sherwood's association has organized militias in at least a dozen of Idaho's 44 counties.

Sherwood's recruitment campaign has met with opposition from law enforcement officials. The Tri-County Sheriff's Association, representing 16 eastern Idaho counties, has passed a resolution against the formation of militias. Greg Moffat, Madison County Sheriff and the leader of the association, has asserted that they would "give absolutely no support to the idea of a militia."

Bo Gritz

Although his current project is not strictly speaking the formation of militias, Bo Gritz's activity closely parallels the militia movement. Gritz, the 1992 Populist Party candidate for president, is a former Green Beret, well-known for conducting SPIKE (Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events) training throughout the region, preparing participants in weapons and survival techniques.

Gritz is currently creating an armed community on a 200-acre piece of land in Central Idaho known as "Almost Heaven." He purchased the land and is now selling it in lots. A second community called "Shenandoah" is also planned nearby. Gritz plans to live at Almost Heaven with 30 other families in a self-sufficient community which he has said will obey all laws "unless they go against the laws of God and common sense." Through rigorous military training, Gritz plans to prepare his followers to prevent the government from making any

attempts to intrude: "I want a community where if the F.B.I. looks at us, they'll end up saying it's more trouble than it's worth."

Gritz derives much of his support from his opposition to the federal government's actions in the Weaver and Waco cases. He himself was present at the Weaver standoff and assisted Weaver in surrendering to the authorities. Gritz recently wrote in his newsletter, "The tyrants who ordered the assault on the Weavers and Waco should be tried and executed as traitors." But Gritz's extremist views go beyond opposition to certain government policies. For example, in his book, *Called To Serve*, he peddles the anti-Semitic myth that Jewish families control the Federal Reserve System.

Indiana

Indianapolis is the home base of Linda Thompson, an influential figure in the militia movement nationally. Thompson is a lawyer and chairman of the American Justice Federation, which describes itself as "a group dedicated to stopping the New World Order and getting the truth out to the American public." Thompson claims to have contact with militias in all 50 states. She appears frequently at militia gatherings and gun shows, to lecture and sell her videos "Waco, The Big Lie," and "Waco II - The Big Lie Continues." The latter, she claims, "proves conclusively the government murdered 100 men, women and children at Mt. Carmel in April, 1993." She also sells other propaganda material such as "The Traitor Files," which purport to link "Bill and Hillary Clinton to a Marxist-Terrorist network."

On July 13, 1994, Thompson was arrested in Indianapolis for using her vehicle to block a bus carrying supporters of President Clinton's health care plan. She was charged with obstructing traffic. At the time of her arrest police officers seized from her person a .45-caliber pistol and a .22-caliber Derringer pistol. They also found in her vehicle an assault rifle with 295 rounds of ammunition. Her case is pending.

Thompson's most ambitious undertaking to date was a planned militia march on Washington, D.C., on September 19, 1994, where an ultimatum was to be delivered to the government. The ultimatum commanded members of Congress to initiate legislation that would among other things, repeal the 14th, 16th and 17th Amendments to the Constitution, and the Brady Law and NAFTA. Designating herself "Acting Adjutant General," of the "Unorganized Militia of the United States," Thompson ordered all participants to come "armed and in uniform." She announced that, besides delivering the ultimatum, "The militia will arrest Congressmen who have failed to uphold their oaths of office, who will then be tried for Treason by citizens' courts."

Realizing after several months that support for her march was lacking, Thompson called it off, yet her standing in the militia movement apparently remains undiminished.

The John Birch Society, troubled about Thompson's influence on its members and staff, found it necessary to warn them against her. On May 12, 1994, the Society issued an official "admonition to all members and a directive to all employees" to "stay clear of her schemes." They said: "Linda Thompson's call for the arrest in September of members of Congress and

President of the United States by an armed militia is not just insane, it is contrary to all understanding of the nature and identity of the enemy." It appears that even by the standards of the John Birch Society, Thompson is too radical.

Meanwhile, Thompson continues to appear at rallies and conferences around the country, and on radio, promoting the militia cause and calling down thunder upon the American government and its law enforcement agencies.

A rally to form a militia in Indianapolis took place in September 1994, at a union hall in the south central part of the city. In attendance were some 200 persons, filling the hall to capacity, while an overflow crowd was turned away.

A smaller militia is believed to be functioning in Switzerland County, in eastern Indiana. The county, long plagued by extremist activity, has been the home base of the Northwest Territory Knights of the KKK, a Klan splinter group.

Michigan

The militia movement has gained a following in Michigan. The most visible such group in the state has sprung up in northern Michigan. Spokesmen there make the (probably exaggerated) claim that militias have 10,000 members and that brigades are operating or are currently forming in 66 of the state's 83 counties. Meetings reportedly draw 50 to 100 attendees.

The issues animating Michigan's militias are the same as those fueling the movement nationally. Chief among them is a belief that gun control legislation is but a prelude to a complete ban on firearms ownership in this country. An essential additional ingredient, though, is their conviction that the government intends to wage war on citizens who refuse to give up their weapons. They cite as evidence for this view the tragic assault on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, and the 1992 raid on the cabin of Randy Weaver in Idaho, in which Weaver's wife and son and a federal marshal were killed. They also contend that this same federal government is acquiescing in the surrender of U.S. sovereignty to the United Nations and other international bodies. One militia, accordingly, aims to "stand against tyranny, globalism, moral relativism, humanism and the New World Order threatening to undermine these United States of America."

Norman E. Olson, 47, a Baptist minister and gun-shop owner in Alanson, is the Commander of the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, Northern Michigan Regional Militia. After a few months of discussion and recruitment, the group was established in April 1994. It conducts training exercises twice a month. At a recent session, weapons reportedly included Chinese SKS semi-automatic assault rifles, shotguns and deer rifles.

When residents complained about militia members clad in camouflage uniforms and painted faces gathering with their rifles at a village park and a public campground in Pellston, the village council banned firearms from those and other village sites. Militia commander Olson threatened to sue the village for allegedly violating his rights. He also announced that his group would no longer convene in the park or the campground, saying: "The people of Pellston have got to want the light of liberty."

Olson strenuously denies that the Northern Michigan Regional Militia is racist or anti-Semitic. He claims some Jewish ancestry, and professes admiration for Israel. But his militia's

rhetoric on occasion has been extreme and alarmist. In reference to the aborted march on Washington promoted by Indianapolis militia leader Linda Thompson, Olson has written: "Many thousands are prepared to go to Washington in uniform, carry their guns, prepared to present the ultimatum to the President and to Congress. This may be the beginning of a Concord-like confrontation." A militia pamphlet distributed at a May meeting in Petoskey attended by some 55 people reportedly asked: "What force exists to prevent a state or federally orchestrated massacre like the one in Waco from occurring in Michigan?" Ray Southwell, a real estate agent who is the group's information officer, has said: "I'd guess that within the next two years, you will see the *Constitution* suspended." His further prediction: "*Christian fundamentalists will be the first to go under fascism this time. Just like the Jews were the first last time.*"

Southwell speaks as though he regards confrontation with law enforcement as inevitable. His militia is preparing for the day "when martial law is declared." "We are taking a stand," he says, "and are prepared to lose everything."

Other militia activists in Michigan have had their own encounter with the law. Police in Fowlerville (Livingston County) arrested three militia members on September 8, 1994. Loaded rifles and handguns, as well as gas masks, night-vision binoculars and two-way radios, were found in their car. At the men's scheduled September 14 hearing, at least two dozen uniformed supporters staged a protest in front of the courthouse and stomped on a United Nations flag. The suspects failed to appear and are considered fugitives. They were described by their supporters as security aides to Mark Koernke (a.k.a. "Mark from Michigan"), a former Army intelligence officer whose "America in Peril" video and speeches have helped to recruit members to militias around the country.

All the confrontational talk has caught the attention of law enforcement authorities. "Some of their material is disquieting because it defines the U.S. government as the enemy," said a Michigan State Police commander. "It is disquieting if people think redress is in armed conflict with the U.S. government." The head of the Detroit office of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms expressed the hope "that the militia groups would use the power of the vote rather than the threat of armed violent confrontation to accomplish their goals."

Missouri

Militias are active in Missouri but do not appear to be as well-organized as in other states. They operate in at least five southern Missouri counties: Crawford, Green, Barton, Dade and Cedar, and number collectively approximately 130 members. The militias hold irregular meetings to view training videos, discuss paramilitary techniques and exchange literature reflecting right-wing views.

Missouri's militias are attempting to organize themselves for political action by, among other things, running candidates for local office. In keeping with their political aspirations, they have attempted to avoid any public identification with more extreme groups, although some members also belong to the John Birch Society and the Populist Party.

Montana

Militias have been forming in Montana since February 1994. While the rhetoric of these groups focuses on gun control and other familiar militia causes, examination reveals that some of the leading figures in the Montana militia movement have also participated in the activities of racist and anti-Semitic groups.

Meetings have been held across the state, drawing as many as 800 at a March 10 meeting in Kalispell. Two other meetings there also drew over 150 participants. Similar gatherings held in Hamilton, Eureka, Big Timber and Great Falls drew over 200 participants each. Smaller numbers attended meetings in Sanders County, Billings and Troy. While the crowds at initial meetings have been large, they have tended to fall off somewhat at subsequent gatherings.

Montana militias often dwell on the state's history as an independent outpost of freedom. A recent militia newsletter quoted, with approval, Gary Marbut, president of the Montana Shooting Sports Association (an anti-gun control group) in a call for rejection of all federal control over the state:

Montanans are fed up with the federal government dictating to Montana and the people of Montana and we are through with Congress's increasing encroachment on the Bill of Rights. We have a thirst for freedom in Montana, and we simply will not subsist under the boot heel of federal tyranny. There may be some debate about what the Second Amendment means to the U.S. Supreme Court or the people of Peoria, but there is no question about what the Second Amendment means to the people of Montana. "The great purpose" as Patrick Henry said, "is that every man be armed."

Militia of Montana

The Militia of Montana (M.O.M.) is among the most visible and the most extreme of such groups in the country. M.O.M. is run in Noxon, Montana by the Trochmann brothers, John and David and David's son Randy, all of whom have long been involved in the white supremacist movement. The Trochmanns have been members of the Aryan Nations, the Idaho-based neo-Nazi organization that promotes anti-Semitism, white supremacy and the establishment of a white racist state. John Trochmann was a featured speaker at the Aryan Nations Congress in 1990. He has also been an active supporter of Randy Weaver, the white supremacist who was involved in a shoot-out with federal authorities. Some members of M.O.M. circulate neo-Nazi

publications among themselves. One such book, *Seed of the Woman*, is a "novel" detailing the wild exploits of several young neo-Nazis in a contemporary America peopled by gross stereotypes. Its favorable depiction of Nazi-inspired slaughter and its promotion of Nazi doctrine make it a prescription for violence against Jews, blacks, homosexuals and others.

M.O.M.'s eight-page pamphlet, "The Militia," discusses the history of militias and their origin in the United States, arguing that the Second Amendment was intended to allow the citizens to form "unorganized" militias in order to protect themselves from a potentially tyrannical government. It outlines the militia's role as follows:

To balance the military power of the nation with the might of the militia will put at odds any scheme by government officials to use the force of the government against the people. Therefore, when the codes and statutes are unjust for the majority of the people, the people will rightly revolt and the government will have to acquiesce without a shot being fired, because the militia stands vigilant in carrying out the will of the people in defense of rights, liberty and freedom.

The purpose of government is in the protection of the rights of the people, when it does not accomplish this, the militia is the crusader who steps forward, and upon it rests the mantle of the rights of the people. (sic)

Displaying the group's attitude towards taking up arms, John Trochmann recently said: "We don't want bloodshed. We want to use the ballot box and the jury box. We don't want to go to the cartridge box. But we will if we have to."

M.O.M.'s newsletter, *Taking Aim*, details the ways that the government is currently failing to protect the rights of the people. It cites gun control and the crime bill as evidence of this, but also suggests a variety of conspiracy theories about plans by world leaders to implement a world government. M.O.M. plays to paranoid fears by making wild claims about the supposed activity of foreign military troops in Montana and across the country. One report on the activity of out-of-state troops brought in to fight forest fires concludes: "One more note: Mysterious deaths have been taking place since these troops appeared. Coincidence? We do not know." While the newsletter does not echo the racist ideology of the Trochmanns, it makes a homophobic slur in alluding to rumors regarding Attorney General Janet Reno's sexual orientation.

M.O.M. advertises and distributes books, tapes and videos that provide further "information" on their conspiracy theories. Typical of the selection is a video advertised as "The Countdown to History (Biochip - Mark of the Beast) UN Police Force, One World Govt.,

Chip implants, All by the year 2000-Totally Documented." Also offered are tapes and videos on organizing militias and on survival and combat techniques.

Red Beckman

M. J. "Red" Beckman, an influential figure in the militia movement, has a record as an anti-Semite and an anti-tax activist. He recently lost a long struggle with the IRS when he was finally evicted from his land long after it had been sold to pay for taxes due the government. Beckman, like many militia proponents, is a conspiracy theorist. He has said that the Federal Reserve Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the so-called New World Order are conspiring to dominate the world. In his 1984 book, *The Church Deceived*, Beckman proclaimed that the Holocaust was a judgment upon the Jews for worshipping Satan. More recently, he appeared on KULR-TV, a Montana television station, and repeated his view that Jews are worshippers of Satan.

New Hampshire

New Hampshire law provides for an "unorganized militia" of the age of 18 who are not in the national guard or state guard. New Hampshire have pointed to the state's legislation (as well as the Constitution) to explain and justify their seemingly oxymoronic militias." There is nothing to suggest, however, that they act in the spirit of the laws by which they justify their own existence. The state to direct members of the "unorganized militia" to serve in times of crisis.

New Hampshire is the home of the Constitution Defense League with at least 15 members. It is not known if the group engages in stockpiling of weapons.

The group has held meetings at the home of Edward L. Brown. Brown is outspoken in his support of the concept of militias and devotes himself to the causes embraced by them: opposition to gun control, the United Nations, and the federal government. He recently lobbied against a bill that would ban assault weapons. For example.

While much of Brown's activity appeals to mainstream opponents of the federal government, his enthusiasm for conspiracy theories and his reliance on fringe sources places him on the far reaches of the political spectrum. Brown is the author of *Spotlight*, the organ of Liberty Lobby, the best-funded and most active anti-Semitic organization in the United States. In a recent telephone call to ADL, Brown he gets his information on domestic and international affairs from *The New York Times*. He wrote letters to his Congressman and Senators in Washington regarding the presence of hostile foreign troops inside the United States. Other members of his group embrace conspiracy fantasies involving the Council on Foreign Relations, the Commission, and the Rockefeller Foundation.

At a recent meeting of the group, members expressed their admiration for figures: Bo Gritz and Linda Thompson (see the sections of this report on them). The group has been in contact with Gritz regarding the organization of militias. d as
vt.,

Chip implants, All by the way
on organizing militias and

Red Beckman

M. J. "Red" Beckman, an anti-Semite and an anti-Communist, was finally evicted from his home. Beckman, like many in the National Reserve Bank, the International Brotherhood of Magicians, is conspiring to dominate the world. He proclaimed that the Jews are worshipped.

New Mexico

As in neighboring Arizona, the organization of militias in New Mexico is in the nascent stages. Thus far, the most visible manifestation of pro-militia sentiment in New Mexico has been found in *The Free American*, a monthly newspaper published privately by Clayton R. Douglas and his wife, Jan Douglas. The September 1994 issue contained an advertisement declaring: "It's Time To Take Matters Into Our Own Hands. It's Time To Protect Our Constitution! Join The New Mexico Unorganized Militia." The accompanying phone number for more information was the number of the newspaper itself.

The militia movement appears to be taking hold in Catron County, an area that in recent years has experienced much anti-federal government sentiment among some residents. Among the groups attempting to organize a local militia are "Concerned Citizens" and the "Patriots of Catron County."

Finally, literature from Linda Thompson's (see Indiana section) "Unorganized Militias of the United States," has been distributed through gun shops in Albuquerque.

North Carolina

North Carolina's militia movement has been fueled by an government bent on the destruction of American liberties.

A Monroe-based group called Citizens for the Reinstatement of Government has coalesced around Albert Esposito. He denies that he is but his rhetoric includes clear overtones of preparation for battle with the i. urges the group to amass caches of the "Four B's": Bibles, bullets, beans and members own semiautomatic weapons, including AR-15's and AK-47's.

The group's program is a mixture of anti-government, religious and cons. It aims to "make the Holy Bible and the United States Constitution the law of th. vows to "resist the coming New World Order (one world government)." To a goals, it promises to "Remove treasonous politicians and corrupt judges from authority, and return authority to the people." (Precisely how these malefactor. removed from office is not stated.)

Citizens for the Reinstatement of Constitutional Government meets twice a alternating between Monroe, in Union County, and Matthews, in neighboring Meckl County. At one meeting, Esposito, a 43-year-old contractor, reportedly repeated G. G Liddy's alleged statement about the new crime law's assault weapons ban: "He said, 'If pass it, don't obey it. And if they come after you, meet force with force.'"

The group has distributed application forms for the "National Free and Sovereign Civilia Militia, North Carolina state Division." The forms ask applicants whether they are proficient in the operation of handguns and rifles, "reloading ammo," and a variety of survivalist skills.

Esposito has espoused his views on guns at Union County commissioners' meetings. He also railed against federal encroachment in announcing his support for a nonbinding resolution passed by the commission in support of school prayer. Holding a copy of the Constitution in the air, he declared: "We control the county. Not Washington."

Consistent with such anti-federal government views, Esposito says he has refused to file federal income tax returns for three years running because he regards the tax as unconstitutional.

The group he leads split off from a tax-protest group in Charlotte called t three of whose leaders were convicted in October 1994 of conspiracy to help tax obligations. Esposito's group has attempted to distance itself from the C

In addition to their views on guns and taxes, members of the Mon expressed ideas and conspiracy theories that are characteristic of some other militia country. These include charges that the Federal Reserve system has enriched a t group's literature advocates the abolition of the Federal Reserve), and that some employees have been implanted with computer chips in order to monitor the citizenry. claim made at one of the group's meetings, that the government cannot require private to obtain a driver's license, echoes the stand of an earlier extremist group, the Posse Cor.

A separate North Carolina militia group has been formed in Greenville, in the ea part of the state. Led by Scott Brown, the unit is part of the Idaho-based United States Mil Association. Brown reportedly has said his group worries that government representatives "don't really understand what the Constitution means and stands for, and they're voting away our unalienable rights." It is not known whether the Greenville unit is engaging in any more incendiary rhetoric or activity. But this fear -- which is apparently spreading and growing -- that the government is a threat to the rights of the people, is a central theme that militia groups are feverishly trying to exploit.

A computer bulletin board in Alamance County, called "The Spirit of '76," has served as an area recruiting point for the militia led by Linda Thompson, the Indianapolis woman who is a leading figure in the militia movement nationwide. Another bulletin board system that made Thompson's computerized materials available has referred individuals interested in joining the militia to The Spirit of '76. For its part, The Spirit of '76 has declared itself off limits to police and other government authorities by posting a warning that states: "This BBS [bulletin board system] is a PRIVATE system. Only private citizens who are NOT involved in government or law enforcement activities are authorized to use it."

Several militia-like groups have arisen .
One such militia has been meeting and conducting
in rural south central Ohio. There is overlapping p
among the Pike County militia, the neo-Nazi SS A

Other militia groups have arisen in Franklin Co
group called "Patriots" meets in Cincinnati and conducts
County.

The group he leads split off from a tax-pro
three of whose leaders were convicted in
tax obligations. Esposito's group has a

In addition to their views c
expressed ideas and conspiracy the
country. These include charges
group's literature advocates the
employees have been implante
claim made at one of the gr
to obtain a driver's license

A separate Nort
part of the state. Led
Association. Brown
"don't really under
our unalienable ri
incendiary rheto
the government
feverishly tr

A
as an ar
is a lea
Thor
mil
a

He
ion
in

file
in

Virgi

On July 27 of this year, James Roy Mullins called The Blue Ridge Hunt Club, was arrested and short-barreled rifle and unregistered silencers and w firearm. Ultimately, three other members were also officials said that Mullins had formed the club to arm the government. The cases are pending.

The group, formed earlier in 1994, has had as mai have met three times before Mullins' arrest. While member is to lobby against gun control laws, federal law enforcem story. An ATF official who investigated the case said that ' confederates, to be armed and trained in paramilitary fashion, with government authorities should firearms legislation become such preparation is substantial. In searches of members' homes agents found a stockpile of weapons. In Mullins' home, agents fou had homemade silencers. They also found explosives, hand grena in a separate warehouse.

Even pretrial incarceration has not stopped Mullins from threate jail, he wrote a letter to a friend saying that he wanted to borrow a n "take care of unfinished business" with certain prosecution witnesses.

The strongest indications of the group's goals was the draft of a pora found on a computer disk obtained by federal agents. On the disk, Mullins

Hit and run tactics will be our method of fighting... We will destroy ta as telephone relay centers, bridges, fuel storage tanks, communication. radio stations, airports, etc... human targets will be engaged ... wh beneficial to the cause to eliminate particular individuals who oppose us (police, political figures, snitches, etc.).

An ATF official also said that Mullins was planning to arm the group by burg National Guard Armory in Pulaski, Virginia.

Several militia-like groups have One such militia has been meeting and in rural south central Ohio. There is among the Pike County militia, the

Other militia groups have group called "Patriots" meets in County.

Conclusion

Given the revolutionary posturing of so many of the m. hatemongers of long standing, the better part of wisdom dictates them. There is a role here for the press and for citizen organizat The Anti-Defamation League is pledged to do its part.

The chief responsibility for keeping on top of the militia thri with the law enforcement branch of government. That this responsit with all due respect for the legal rights to which everyone is entitled . Law enforcement agencies need the requisite resources to monitor t appropriate measures, when necessary, to protect the public.

One such tool is paramilitary training legislation already on the Those laws (many patterned after a model bill first formulated by ADL, this report) should be applied, where appropriate. In states where such adopted, ADL urges that they be given prompt consideration.

The right to hold and promote one's views on the issues which are a, -- such as gun control, the environment, and abortion -- is inviolate under There is no right, however, to use force or violence either to impose one's v to resist laws properly enacted. That is the crux of the problem presented b militias.

Se
One su
in r
ar

s
co
wit
such
agents
had ho
in a sepa

Eve
jail, he wrc
"take care

T
found o

A
r

Appendix

ADL MODEL PARAMILITARY TRAINING STATUTE

A. (1) Whoever teaches or demonstrates to any other person the use, application, or making of any firearm, explosive or incendiary device, or technique capable of causing injury or death to persons, knowing or having reason to know or intending that same will be unlawfully employed for use in, or in furtherance of, a civil disorder; or

(2) Whoever assembles with one or more persons for the purpose of training with, practicing with, or being instructed in the use of any firearm, explosive or incendiary device, or technique capable of causing injury or death to persons, intending to employ unlawfully the same for use in, or in furtherance of, a civil disorder --

Shall be fined not more than _____ or imprisoned not more than _____ years, or both.

B. Nothing contained in this section shall make unlawful any act of any law enforcement officer which is performed in the lawful performance of his official duties.

C. As used in this section:

(1) The term "civil disorder" means any public disturbance involving acts of violence by assemblages of three or more persons, which causes an immediate danger of or results in damage or injury to the property or person of any other individual.

(2) The term "firearm" means any weapon which is designed to or may readily be converted to expel any projectile by the action of an explosive; or the frame or receiver of any such weapon.

(3) The term "explosive or incendiary device" means (a) dynamite and all other forms of high explosives, (b) any explosive bomb, grenade, missile, or similar device and (c) any incendiary bomb or grenade, fire bomb, or similar device, including any device which (i) consists of or includes a breakable container including a flammable liquid or compound, and a

Appendix

Appendix

ADL MODEL PARAMILITARY TRAINING STAT

es or demonstrates to any other person th
cendary device, or technique ca
reason to know or intend
of, a civil disorder.

ore

- com.
S'

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

NATIONAL OFFICE

823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017

WASHINGTON OFFICE

1100 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. (Suite 1020), Washington, D.C. 20036

REGIONAL OFFICES

ALBUQUERQUE

P.O. Box 21639, Albuquerque, NM 87154

ARIZONA

The First Interstate Tower, 3550 North Central Avenue (Suite 914),
Phoenix, AZ 85012

ATLANTA (Southeast)

One Securities Centre, 3490 Piedmont Road N.E. (Suite 610), Atlanta, GA 303

BOSTON (New England)

1 Lincoln Plaza, (Suite 301), Boston, MA 02111

CHICAGO (Greater Chicago/Wisconsin)

309 West Washington, (Suite 750), Chicago, IL 60606

CLEVELAND (Northern Ohio)

505 Terminal Tower, Cleveland, OH 44113

COLUMBUS (Ohio/Indiana/Kentucky)

42 East Gay St., (Suite 814), Columbus, OH 43215

CONNECTICUT

419 Whalley Avenue, New Haven, CT 06511

DALLAS (Northwest Texas/Oklahoma)

12800 Hillcrest Road (Suite 219), Dallas, TX 75230

D.C. (D.C./MARYLAND)

1100 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. (Suite 1020), Washington, D.C. 20036

DENVER (Mountain States)

300 South Dahlia Street (Suite 202), Denver, CO 80222

DETROIT (Michigan)

4000 Town Center (Suite 420), Southfield, MI 48075-1405

HOUSTON (Southwest)

4635 Southwest Freeway (Suite 400), Houston, TX 77027

LOS ANGELES (Pacific Southwest)

10495 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA 90025

MIAMI (Florida)

150 SE Second Avenue (Suite 800), Miami, FL 33131

NEW JERSEY

741 Northfield Avenue, West Orange, NJ 07052

NEW ORLEANS (South Central)

925 Common Street (Suite 975), New Orleans, LA 70112

NEW YORK CITY (New York City, Westchester, Rockland, Putnam and Long Island)

823 U.N. Plaza, New York, NY 10017

NEW YORK STATE

125 Wolf Rd. (Suite 504), Albany, NY 12205

OMAHA (Plains States)

333 South 132 Street, Omaha, NE 68154

ORANGE COUNTY

2700 North Main Street (Suite 500), Santa Ana, CA 92701

PALM BEACH COUNTY

The Commerce Center, 324 Datura Street (Suite 223),
West Palm Beach, FL 33401

PHILADELPHIA (Eastern Pennsylvania/Delaware)

230 South Broad Street, 20th Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19102

SAN DIEGO

7851 Mission Center Court (Suite 320), San Diego, CA 92108

SAN FERNANDO VALLEY

22622 Vanowen Street, West Hills, CA 91307

SAN FRANCISCO (Central Pacific)

720 Market Street (Suite 800), San Francisco, CA 94102-2501

SEATTLE (Pacific Northwest)

Plaza 600 Building (Suite 720), 600 Stewart Street, Seattle, WA 98101

ST. LOUIS (Missouri/Southern Illinois)

10926 Schuetz Road, St. Louis, MO 63146

VIRGINIA/NORTH CAROLINA

6330 Newtown Rd. (Suite 326), Norfolk, VA 23502

OVERSEAS OFFICES

JERUSALEM

30 King David Street, Jerusalem, Israel 94101

CANADA

Cooperative Association with the League for Human Rights of Canadian B'nai Brith

15 Hove Street (Suite 210), Downsview, Ontario, Canada, M3H 4Y8

Appendix

ADL MODEL PARAMILITARY TRAINING

A. (1) Whoever teaches or demonstrates to any
of any firearm, explosive or incendiary device,
to persons, knowing or having reason to
employed for use in, or in furtherance of

(2) Whoever assembles
practicing with, or being in-
or technique capable of
same for use in, or i-

B.

Shall

Special Edition

February 1987

ADL A periodic update from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith—Civil Rights Division

William Pierce & The Neo-Nazi Church

Since the beginning of 1986, after federal law enforcement and the courts had drawn a curtain on the violent crime spree in the Pacific Northwest perpetrated by the gang of right-wing extremists called "The Order," considerable interest has focused on the activities of William L. Pierce, an advocate of a Nazi takeover of America and the author of a political novel that inspired the thugs of The Order in their terrorism.

Pierce has established a compound on tax-exempt property in the mountain wilderness of West Virginia. He has described his "Cosmotheist Community Church" as a place to "train a new generation to pick up the torch and become warriors for our cause."

Connections With The Order

The crimes of The Order included murders, robberies, counterfeiting, and the bombing of a synagogue. After a Seattle bank robbery in 1983, the terrorist gang's leader, Robert Mathews, had told an acquaintance that he was the robber and that the American Nazi revolution depicted in Pierce's novel had now begun. Mathews, who died in a fire resulting from a shootout with FBI agents in 1984, had been a Pacific Northwest representative of Pierce's own organization, the Arlington, Virginia-based neo-Nazi propaganda apparatus called the National Alliance. The Order itself was, in fact, founded by people from the National Alliance and from the extremist Aryan Nations organization of Hayden Lake, Idaho.

William Pierce's book, *The Turner Diaries*, written under the pseudonym "Andrew Macdonald" and



published in 1978, fantasized an overthrow of the American government by far rightists who systematically kill Jews and blacks, destroy Israel (which they identify as the real foreign enemy), and ultimately establish an "Aryan" world. The fiery death of the real-life Aryan warrior Mathews did not diminish the author's enthusiasm for

the cause. Pierce's publication *National Vanguard* praised The Order for having "set its sights on a full-

authoritarian government." The editorial asked: "... how will the Jews cope with the man who does not fear them and is willing, even glad, to give his life in order to hurt them? What will they do when a hundred good men rise to take Robert Mathews' place?"

Pierce's 'Kampf'

That William L. Pierce, holder of a Ph.D. in Physics and a former university professor, might take Mathews' place—at least as a racist ideologue of some interest—should not be surprising; he has been active through the two decades since the American Nazi fuhrer George Lincoln Rockwell, recognizing him as "an idealist," first tapped his talents.

NATIONAL VANGUARD

Toward a New Consciousness, a New Order, a New People.

The symbol which appears in the NATIONAL VANGUARD logotype is the Life Rune. It comes from an ancient alphabet, or futhork, used in northern Europe for many centuries before the general adoption of the Roman alphabet there. The Life Rune signifies life, creation, birth, rebirth, and renewal. It expresses in a single symbol the *raison d'être* of the National Alliance.

Pierce, a native of Atlanta now in his early fifties, went from three years of teaching at Oregon State University and a later position as a laboratory researcher (to give himself "more free time for writing") into a brief career in the sale of guns, through which he hoped to attract "those persons most likely to be responsive to my ideological message." That message brought Pierce into an association with Rockwell in 1967, when he was named editor of the *National Socialist World*, a quarterly published by Rockwell's World Union of National Socialists. When Rockwell was assassinated later that year, William Pierce emerged as one of the leaders of the American Nazi Party—subsequently named the National Socialist White People's Party—and became its Assistant Executive Officer in 1968.

Pierce left the Party in 1970 and became active with the National Youth Alliance (NYA), a group with half-concealed Hitlerian trimmings that was then run behind the scenes by Willis Carto, the head of Washington's ultra-right, anti-Jewish Liberty Lobby. The NYA described itself as a "fighting" movement determined

Pierce eventually wrested control of the NYA from Carto, and in 1974 he turned it into his own creature, the National Alliance, with more flagrantly neo-Nazi aims. For more than a decade now, the National Alliance and its bi-monthly *National Vanguard* have been, respectively, Pierce's base of operations and his voice. The magazine is published under the inscription "Toward a New Consciousness; a New Order; a New People." The National Alliance promotes a vast array of racist and anti-Semitic materials from publishers and organizations of America's neo-Nazi network. Its own National Vanguard Books, propagating themes such as "Western History," "Communism and Zionism," and "Race," has offered for sale, among other such books, *The International Jew*, Francis Parker Yockey's massive justification of Hitlerian racism called *Imperium*, and Hitler's *Mein Kampf* itself.

Violence and 'Education'

In 1978 the Internal Revenue Service denied tax-exempt status to the National Alliance, ruling that the organization's publications did not meet the IRS code's definition of "educational." Pierce's organization appealed the ruling, claiming that free speech automatically qualified its materials as educational. In 1981 a

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT	
NO. 81-1859	NO. 81-1900
NATIONAL ALLIANCE, Plaintiff-Appellant.	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Defendant-Appellant.
v.	v.
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Defendant-Appellee.	NATIONAL ALLIANCE, Plaintiff-Appellee.
ON CROSS-APPEALS FROM AN ORDER OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	
BRIEF FOR THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE, AND THE NAACP AS AMICI CURIAE	

federal district court ruled that the IRS definition of "educational" was too vague and sent the case back to the IRS for further proceedings. Early in 1983 an *amicus* brief was filed before a U.S. appellate court by the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Congress and the NAACP in support of the original IRS ruling, and in June, 1983 the court ruled that the National Alliance was indeed not educational, that it did

not qualify for tax exemption because its publications were "far outside the range Congress would have intended" for such exemption.

The court noted that William Pierce's organization "appeals for action, including violence" to injure members of "named racial, religious, or ethnic groups," and added that National Alliance published materials "cannot reasonably be considered intellectual exposition."

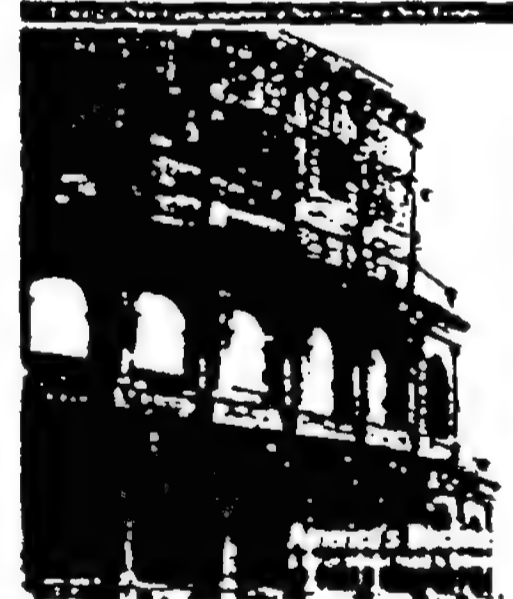
The 'Cosmotheist' Church

In the latter part of 1985, William Pierce moved the base of his operations to a remote 345-acre site in Mill Point, West Virginia which had been purchased for \$95,000 cash and received tax-exempt status as a "religious" property. Pierce has denied receiving any of the more than \$4 million in loot from bank and armored car robberies committed by the terrorists of The Order. (Federal authorities have said that some \$750,000 of the unrecovered monies were distributed among leaders of various white racist groups.)

The property in the hills of Pocahontas County belongs to the Cosmotheist Community, which is described as a "church" and lists William Pierce as trustee. Pierce told the *Roanoke Virginia Times and World News* that his church is non-Christian and believes in a "natural" god (presumably in contrast to a supernatural one). He has also stated that the church will concern itself with "the fitness of our race for survival," and that the intention is to train "warriors for our cause."

Considering the "cause" that William L. Pierce has championed throughout his career, claims of tax-exemption come sharply into question. The Anti-Defamation League has written to the IRS Commissioner calling for a federal investigation. The Question: Is Pierce's National Alliance, having been denied an "educational" tax exemption, now using his church's tax-exempt status in its use of land as a device to fund and train his "warriors" in racist violence?

NATIONAL VANGUARD



Special Edition

October 1991

ADL A periodic update from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith—Civil Rights Division

Religion as Bigotry: The Identity Church Movement

In Search of Identity

We believe in an existing being known as the Devil or Satan and called the Serpent who has a literal 'seed' commonly called Jews today. These children of Satan through Cain are a race of vipers, Anti-Christ's who have throughout history always been a curse to true Israel . . . because they do the works of their father the Devil . . .

This intensely anti-Semitic statement reflects the philosophy of the pseudo-religion known as "Identity." The Identity Church movement, which also views blacks and other racial minorities as inferior, emerged as a noticeable presence among far right-wing extremists in the United States in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Its ideological roots, however, date back to Anglo-Israelism, a doctrine that developed in Great Britain during the latter part of the 19th century. Anglo-Israel followers held that white Anglo-Saxons are descended from the Ten Lost Tribes, and that England and the U.S. are the true Israel in which Biblical promises to the "chosen people" (Anglo-Saxons) were to be fulfilled.

More recently, Identity's stark racist and anti-Semitic philosophy has linked a loose collection of far right groups and provided them with the pseudo-theological justification to hate.

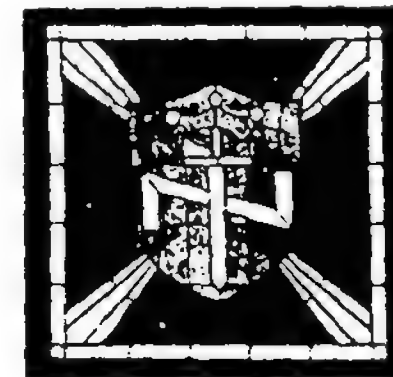
Major Identity Figures and Groups

Early leaders of the Identity movement included Wesley Swift and William Potter Gale.

Swift, who died in 1970, was a longtime anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic bigot whose influence remains unyielding. A one-time Ku Klux Klan organizer, Swift founded the Christian Defense League and during the 1950s was a leader of a Los Angeles church called the "Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation." Swift's strident anti-Semitism was illustrated by such public statements as "All Jews must be destroyed," and "I prophesy that before November 1953 there will not be a Jew in the United States, and by that I mean a Jew that will be able to walk or talk."

Upon Swift's death, "Rev." Richard G. Butler proclaimed his "Church of Jesus Christ Christian" as the successor to Swift's church. Butler had

behest of Col. William Potter Gale (Ret.). Today Butler is the leader of the Idaho-based hate group Aryan Nations, of which his "Identity" church is part. Aryan Nations disseminates its views through three publications: "Aryan Nations Newsletter," "Calling Our Nation," and "The Way," a prison outreach newsletter.



Aryan Nations hosts like-minded racists at the Aryan Nations World Congresses held each summer at Hayden Lake. During these annual festivals of hate courses on urban terrorism and guerrilla warfare have been offered.

Since 1979 the organization has sought to communicate with and recruit prison inmates. Because of recent prosecutions of white supremacists, such outreach has become an important item on the Aryan Nations' agenda. However, in recent years, prison authorities in several states including Arkansas, Idaho, Missouri and North Carolina, have attempted to restrict the distribution of Aryan Nations/Church of Jesus Christ Christian prison-oriented materials and other hate literature to assure safety and discipline within the walls of the prisons.

William P. Gale, a retired army colonel and unsuccessful candidate for public office, was "Pastor" of his own Identity church—the "Ministry of Christ Church" in Mariposa, California—for many years. In 1960, he organized the paramilitary California Rangers, a group closely linked to Swift and his church. Gale was also a founder of the extremist Posse Comitatus and wrote five books on guerrilla warfare.

The Posse Comitatus (Latin for "power of the county") is a loosely affiliated band of armed anti-tax vigilantes and survivalists who believe that all government power is rooted at the county level. Posse activists claim that the federal and state governments are controlled by enemies, i.e., non-Identity people who cannot be trusted to preserve the purity and security of the white race, let alone law and order.

when Gordan Kahl, an active member, murdered two federal marshals in North Dakota and became a fugitive. Kahl later died in a shootout with Arkansas law enforcement officers in which a local sheriff was killed.

In 1984 Gale was instrumental in founding a far right tax protest group, The Committee of the States. By January of 1988 Gale's activities with the Committee earned him a federal prison term of one year and one day as one of a group of five who were charged with threatening the lives of Internal Revenue agents and a Nevada state judge. Gale died later that year at the age of 71.

In October of 1986, following a two-year FBI undercover probe, eight members of the Arizona Patriots, an Identity tax-protest group with a penchant for stockpiling weapons and baiting public officials, were arrested and charged with plotting to finance a paramilitary base by robbing an armored car in Nevada. The group had also planned to bomb a synagogue in Phoenix and an IRS facility in Utah. At the time of their arrest, several "Patriots" had blueprints for the electrical systems of two United States dams and the piping system of a third. In June 1987, three of the Arizona Patriot defendants were sentenced to four-year federal prison terms, after pleading guilty in May to a conspiracy charge.

Other Leading Figures

James K. Warner of Metairie, Louisiana, is a longtime anti-Jewish agitator and propagandist. Now in his 50s, Warner has been engaged in extremist, anti-Semitic activities since the early 1960's. His anti-Jewish operations include the "New Christian Crusade Church," "The Christian Defense League" and a mail-order book service called the Sons of Liberty.

The New Christian Crusade Church, founded in 1971 and headquartered in Metairie, LA, publishes the *Christian Vanguard*, a shrill anti-Jewish and racist monthly tabloid. In a mailing introducing the New Christian Crusade Church, Warner denounced Jews as the "Sons of the devil" who "are going all out to destroy the white race."

Another monthly under Warner's supervision, "The CDL Report," dedicated an entire issue to the study of ZOG—Zionist Occupation Government. According to that issue, "people with supreme allegiance to Israel rather than America have seized power here, and now rule us. . . . White patriots consider them [those who hold political office] race-traitors and sewer scum."

"Pastor" Thomas (Thom) Arthur Robb, 47, of Harrison, Arkansas, is the self-appointed "national chairman" of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Robb's anti-Semitism, rooted in "Identity" doctrine, is unequivocal. He has recently proclaimed: "I hate Jews. I hate race-mixing Jews. We've let anti-Christ Jews into our country and we've been cursed with abortion, inflation, homosexuality, and the threat of war."

Robb is the editor of a virulently anti-Semitic and racist tabloid, *The Torch*, published in Harrison, Arkansas by his church, the Church of Jesus Christ, of which he is "Pastor." Robb also recently purchased 40 acres of land on which he hopes to build a "Bible camp" that will have "camp facilities plus office space."

Pete Peters, the "Pastor" of the La Porte Church of Christ in La Porte, Colorado, edits a monthly "Identity" newsletter, "Scriptures for America." Also under the name of Peters' National Outreach Ministry, the organization produces audio cassettes, videotapes and pamphlets. Peters conducts an annual Rocky Mountain Bible Retreat featuring "Identity" speakers.

Other Affiliated Groups And Their Publications

The Order, a far right self-proclaimed revolutionary organization, committed a series of violent crimes in 1983 and 1984—including murder, bombings, and armed robbery—to carry out their racist and extremist agenda. The group was founded in 1983 by Robert Mathews, an active and influential recruiter for the neo-Nazi National Alliance. Mathews established The Order from the ranks of the National Alliance, Aryan Nations and various Klan splinter groups. Many members were "Identity" followers and members of Richard Butler's Church of Jesus Christ Christian.

The Order's most violence-prone members are currently serving lengthy sentences in federal prisons for criminal racketeering. The vicious anti-Semitism intrinsic to The Order's agenda of hatred and violence was reflected in a statement by a former Order member at the 1985 trial in Seattle, Washington: "The end goal, bluntly, was the annihilation of the Jewish race."

Citizens Emergency Defense System (CEDS), a private militia, is currently led by Col. Gordon "Jack" Mohr, a retired U.S. Army colonel. CEDS is based in Mohr's hometown, Bay St. Louis, Missouri. Mohr is also involved in the prison Identity ministry of "Crusade for Christ and Country," a program promoted in his publication *The Christian Patriot Crusader*.

It should be noted that there are probably about two to three hundred small churches around the country that subscribe to the Identity philosophy but which are not affiliated with any larger Identity organization.

Conclusion

Identity gives the extremists of the far right a false and sanctimonious belief that Christianity underlies their violence, anti-Semitism and racism. Nothing could be further from the truth. Mainstream Christianity views Identity as twisted and warped, a perversion—not a reflection—of the faith. In 1987 the National Council of Churches repudiated the Identity movement.

Special Edition

June 1993

ADL A periodic update from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith—Civil Rights Division

W.A.R. Veteran

Tom Metzger's Long March of Hate

Tom Metzger, a 54-year-old television repairman from Fallbrook, California, may be America's most notorious hatemonger. His nearly 30-year career in the radical right has included affiliation with the John Birch Society in the 1960s, the Ku Klux Klan in the 1970s, and his own organization, White Aryan Resistance (WAR), during the '80s and '90s. On October 23, 1990, an Oregon jury rendered a \$12.5 million judgment against Metzger and his son, John, for their role in inciting neo-Nazi skinheads to murder Mulugeta Seraw, an Ethiopian immigrant, in Portland two years earlier.

The Portland Trial

On the night of November 12, 1988, a neo-Nazi skinhead gang in Portland called East Side White Pride attacked three Ethiopian immigrants with a baseball bat and steel-toed boots: Seraw was killed. Investigation into the murder revealed links between the skinheads — three of whom were convicted of murder — and Metzger's White Aryan Resistance.

Crucial among these links was a letter to the skinheads signed by Metzger, which stated in part: "Soon you will meet Dave Mazzella, our national vice-president, who will be in Portland to teach you how we operate and to help you understand more about WAR...." Among the operations Mazzella taught the Portland gang was attacking people of color. Mazzella later explained: "Tom Metzger said the only way to get respect from skinheads is to teach them how to commit violence against Blacks, against Jews, Hispanics, any minority. The word will spread and they'll know our group is one you can respect."

Mazzella, who was not charged in

connection with the murder, later decided to renounce his racist past and his ties to the Metzgers. He did so by contacting ADL; he later revealed that while a WAR member, he had cased the League's Los Angeles office several times, planning to blow it up. Mazzella became a key witness in the civil lawsuit against Metzger brought on behalf of Seraw's family by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) and ADL.*

The jury awarded the Seraw family \$12.5 million, distributed as follows: WAR, \$5 million; Tom Metzger, \$3 million; his son John, \$4 million; and two of the murderers, \$500,000. Upheld on appeal on April 20, 1993, this judgment is one of the largest civil verdicts of its kind in U.S. history.



A Genealogy of Hatred

Metzger, an Indiana native, moved to southern California in 1961 to work in the electronics field. By the mid 1970s, he had joined David Duke's Louisiana-based Knights of the Ku Klux

WAR
White Aryan Resistance

* The League was responsible for introducing another key item of evidence which demonstrated Metzger's advocacy of violence—a photograph of Metzger with an AK-47, instructing a group of racist skinheads in the desert.

Klan, eventually becoming "Grand Dragon" of its California branch, one of the largest and most violence-prone in the organization. Also in 1975, Metzger was ordained a "minister" in the Louisiana-based New Christian Crusade Church, an "Identity" group led by James K. Warner, a veteran of the American Nazi Party also associated with Duke.*

A Foray Into Politics

In the fall of 1980, Metzger was the surprise winner of a California Congressional primary. In the November general election, the Klan leader faced incumbent Rep. Clair Burgener, who defeated Metzger by a margin of over 210,000 votes (88% to 12%). Metzger soon left the California Klan and formed the White American Political Association, the forerunner of WAR.

Next Metzger ran in a primary for the U.S. Senate from California in 1982, and received 75,593 votes — roughly 2.8% of the total cast. Following this defeat, Metzger's organization adopted its current name; the change from a "Political Association" to an "Aryan Resistance" group reflected a shift toward more openly violent, totalitarian rhetoric.

A Family Affair

Metzger now found a receptive audience among a newer segment of the extremist underworld — the neo-Nazi Skinheads. Metzger's outreach to the skinheads has been largely orchestrated by his son John, who has served as nominal head of WAR Youth (previously known as the Aryan Youth Movement and the White Student Union).

The recruiting effort involved appearances by Tom and John Metzger on radio and TV talk shows. One such appearance, a November 1988 segment of the "Geraldo Rivera Show," led to an onstage brawl in which Rivera's nose was broken by a flying chair.

Sensing the publicity and recruitment benefits of television exposure, the Metzgers had begun their own public access TV series, "Race and Reason," in 1983. The show now claims distribution in 49 markets in 13 states.

The Aryan Women's League

Another skinhead outreach program operating under the WAR umbrella is the Aryan Women's League (AWL), ostensibly led by Metzger's

daughter, Lynn. A 1989 editorial in White Aryan Resistance's publication, *WAR*, described the women's auxiliary by stating: "The A.W.L. is trying to recruit White racially conscious women to battle the Jew/mud/Zombie/Mutant, degenerate, leshos....This Jew-dyke conspiracy... has to stop as it is the jews' [sic] most vicious campaign against us yet...."

Telephone Bulletins

An additional propaganda outlet for WAR is a taped telephone call-in line (updated every few days). These messages are, of course, replete with Metzger's familiar hatemongering; moreover, they often offer news about skinhead gangs affiliated with WAR, as well as predictable tirades against rival hate group leaders and Metzger's legal adversaries, ADL and SPLC.

In response to the 1992 Los Angeles riots, Metzger also used the telephone hotline to express a perverse solidarity with the looters: "The courts and the police along with our keepers in Washington are corrupt to the core....Any attack on that system that weakens Big Brother is fine with white separatists....Too bad they didn't take out City Hall and the Federal Building."

After the Oregon Verdict

Further legal troubles befell Metzger in late 1991 when he was brought up on misdemeanor charges of unlawful assembly for his role in a 1983 cross-burning incident in Los Angeles. Found guilty, his sentence was commuted after serving 46 days so that Metzger could attend to his ailing wife, Kathleen, who died in March 1992.

As a result of this conviction, Metzger was ordered not to leave the country without permission. Nonetheless, he was deported from Canada in July 1992 after attempting to attend a rally of the extremist Heritage Front in Toronto.

Since the Portland decision, Metzger's assets — including his home — have been seized to help compensate the Seraw family. Although it is unlikely that Metzger will ever fully pay his portion of the \$12.5 million judgment, all subsequent revenues have been accounted for through court supervision so that a substantial percentage of WAR's profits have gone toward this penalty. Yet Metzger's hotlines and publications continue to generate support. Given his track record of hatred and violence, his continuing presence on the extremist scene remains cause for concern.

* See also "Religion as Bigotry: The Identity Church Movement," ADL Special Edition, October 1991.

February 1994

Special Edition

ADL

A periodic update from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith—Civil Rights Division

"THEOLOGIAN" OF HATE

"Pastor" Pete Peters

"Is there a Jewish conspiracy against America? Do Jews control America's media? Do Jews have a death grip on America's government?... Do Jews want total people control? Are Jews liars?... Must Jews leave America if America is to survive?"

— From a *Scriptures for America* tape, July 1990

It's hardly a message of faith, hope, and charity, but it is a typical sermon at the LaPorte (Colorado) Church of Christ, where Pete Peters has preached since 1977. Basing his pastorate on the militant "Christian Identity" beliefs of the late Sheldon Emry¹, Peters, 47, proclaims that Jews pose a satanic threat to American civilization; that Blacks and other people of color are inferior to whites; that homosexuals should be executed; and that northern European whites and their American descendants are the "chosen people" of scriptural prophecy.

In addition to activities at his own congregation, which numbers fewer than 100 regular members, Peters records audio and video cassettes of his sermons, writes numerous pamphlets, broadcasts on shortwave radio, satellite, and public



access cable TV, and hosts semi-annual "Bible" retreats across the country. He is one of the most popular speakers in the hate movement; his fervor and uncompromising views make him one of its leading ideological influences.

Links to The Order

Peters and his congregation first received national attention in 1985, when it was reported

that several members of The Order, the most violent far-right terrorist group of the 1980s, had attended the LaPorte Church during their criminal heyday. Subsequent investigation into The Order's activities revealed a string of firebombings, armed robberies, counterfeiting, and the "execution" of one of its own members.

On February 13, 1984, Peters and his close colleague, Col. Jack Mohr², appeared on a Denver talk radio program hosted by Alan Berg, who provoked an angry confrontation with his guests over their white supremacist views. Four months later, on June 18, Berg (who was Jewish) was murdered outside his home. In 1987 two members of The Order were convicted and sentenced to prison terms of 150 years in connection with the crime.³

Other Extremist Connections

Peters has played host to a number of prominent extremists at his semi-annual retreats. In addition to "Identity" figures, he has invited Robert Brock, a Black separatist who has affiliated himself with the anti-Jewish propaganda organization Liberty Lobby and the extreme-right Populist Party, to speak in favor of the "Pace" Amendment, a white supremacist initiative that would repatriate African-Americans and other "non-whites" (including Jews, Arabs, and Hispanics) to their places of origin. He has also hosted Col. James "Bo" Gritz, the 1992 Populist Party presidential candidate; Kirk Lyons, a far-right attorney and "Identity" adherent;⁴ Malcolm Ross, a Canadian Holocaust denier and anti-Semitic activist; and Richard Kelly Hoskins, a far-right ideologue who peddles anti-Semitism and racism along with investment advice.⁵

¹ See "Religion as Bigotry: The Identity Church Movement," ADL Special Edition, October 1991.

² See "An Officer and A Hatemonger: Col. Gordon 'Jack' Mohr," ADL Special Edition, October 1990.

³ See "The Murder of Alan Berg," ADL Special Edition, June 1988.

⁴ See "Advocating Bigotry: Hate and the Law: Kirk Lyons, Esq.," ADL Special Edition, June 1991.

⁵ See "Richard Kelly Hoskins: Blue-Chip Bigotry," ADL Special Edition, Summer 1992.

Peters himself has appeared at forums with Eustace Mullins, a veteran Jewish-conspiracy theorist, and James K. Warner, a former American Nazi Party activist who heads an "Identity" organization in Louisiana. Peters' speeches have been promoted in "Identity" publications, as well as in *The Torch*, a publication of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; Peters, in turn, has promoted the call-to-terror polemics of former Klansman and Aryan Nations officer Louis Beam.⁶

The World According to Peters

A casual scanning of the titles listed in Peters' *Scriptures for America* book and tape catalog reveals the essentials of his "Identity" philosophy: "My Personal Experience with Jewish Power (Pts. 1&2)"; "Skinheads - S.O.S. Troops of the Right"; "Martin Luther King, Jr.: His Dream, Our Nightmare"; "Death Penalty for Homosexuals...." The vehemence of his bigotry, however, becomes manifest through a closer examination of his writings and speeches. Like many other bigots, he has championed the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." He has stated, "Who's [sic] religion shows a vehement hatred towards Jesus even to this day? The JEWS.... Who and only who had and still have synagogues - The JEWS (check your yellow pages). Who has had the talent to stir up and deceive people so as to...persecute the Christians - The JEWS.... These deceiving anti-christ [sic]...are still at work today as they have been in the past."

Cheri Peters

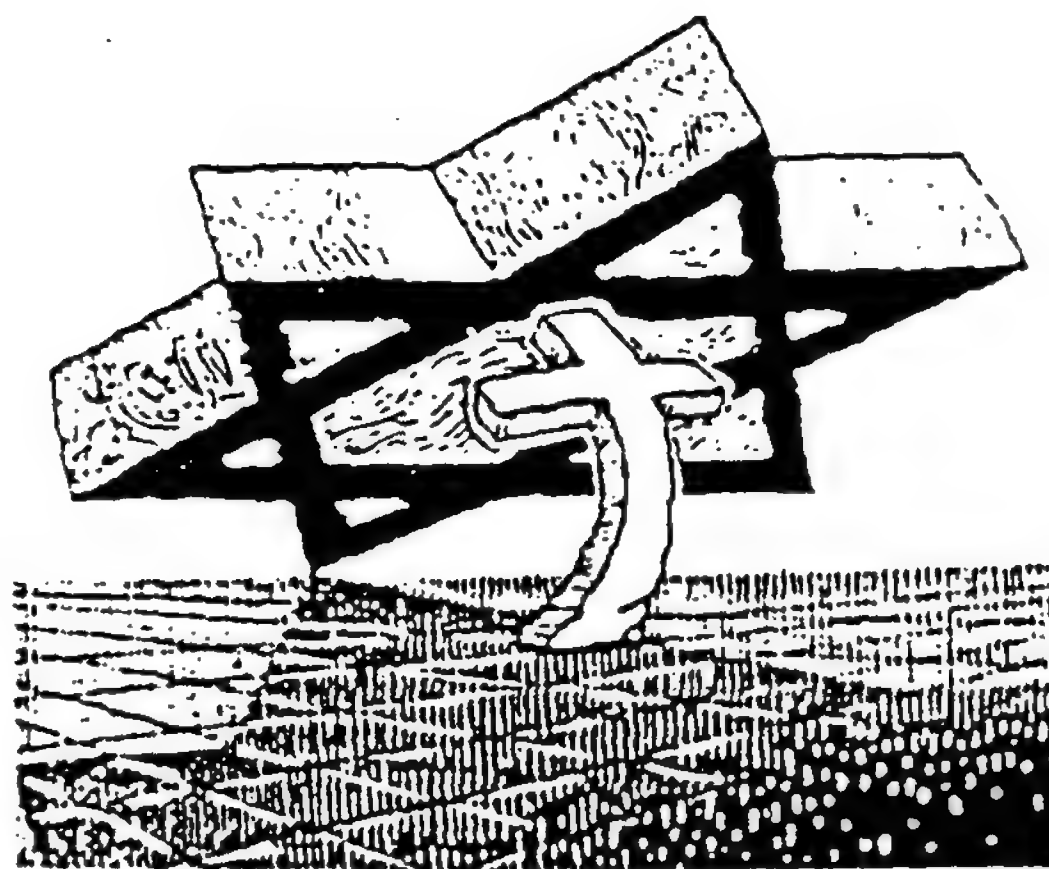
Like her husband, Cheri Peters presents an affable and savvy image of the "Identity" worldview. With a *Scriptures for America* column, titled "For Women Only," and a prominent, visible role at Pastor Peters' retreats, she is the most important woman in the "Identity" movement today. Yet as her writings reveal, she merges a pervasive hostility toward traditional feminism with the racist, anti-Semitic agenda of the hate movement. As one illustration, "For Women Only" has referred to abortion clinics as places where women are "abused and mutilated by Talmudic butchers."

The LaPorte Standoff

In November 1988, a Fort Collins, Colorado, ballot initiative extending civil rights protection to lesbians and gays was defeated. As part of the campaign against the proposal, the LaPorte Church of Christ purchased \$1,040 worth of radio commercials and newspaper ads. In July 1989, the

Colorado Secretary of State ruled, in connection with this political activity, that Peters' church had failed to comply with the state's campaign reform law, and instituted a \$10-a-day fine until required forms were filed and taxes paid.

Subsequent appeals by the church failed. By



Cover illustration from Peters' *The Real Hate Group*

November 1992, the daily penalty had grown to more than \$10,000, and the church's savings account (\$3,805) was seized.

The following February, when church equipment was also seized to pay the balance of the fine, Peters' rhetoric grew more volatile. "If there's a time for war, that means there's a time to die," he told worshippers. In May 1993 the state placed the seized items, mostly audio/video equipment used for Peters' tape ministry, up for auction. Peters never submitted the campaign disclosure forms or taxes.

Conclusion

Because "Identity" presents itself as a "religious" movement, its followers are able to rationalize their bigotry as an expression of divine will. Its leaders, similarly, inspire fervent devotion by presenting their ministry as the ticket to salvation. It is a potent and dangerous mix.

Pete Peters is now probably the "Identity" movement's most outspoken leader. His writings and public statements document his hostility toward Jews, Blacks, other minorities, and American democracy itself. He remains an energetic and resourceful figure whose extremist contacts and access to technology allow him to reach a still limited but widening audience.

⁶ See "Louis Beam: Dedicated to Hate," ADL Special Edition, February 1990

⁷ See "The Protocols: Hoax of Hate," ADL Special Edition, June 1990



Special Edition

ADL A periodic update from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith—Civil Rights Division

June 1994

The "Learned" Bigot

Richard Barrett



"I'm...trying to stop the Africanization of America.... The first step...is non-majority disenfranchisement. After that, you can start talking about re-patriation—Jews to Israel, Puerto Ricans to Puerto Rico, Negroes to Africa, Orientals to the Orient and so forth."

—Richard Barrett, January 1989

Though obviously not a majority viewpoint in America, these bigoted ruminations summarize the core beliefs of Learned, Mississippi's Richard Barrett, 51, a self-proclaimed "pro-majority" activist and founder of the Nationalist Movement. Barrett advances his agenda through rallies that invariably attract more protesters than supporters, more press coverage than popular approval, more civic unrest than unity. And yet his self-aggrandizing rhetoric and his propensity to exploit racial controversies have generated attention grossly out of proportion to the size of his "movement," which in actuality is little more than a roving one-man operation.

Barrett's "Commission"

Barrett currently organizes his "nationalist" activities from his home in Learned, but he grew up in New York City and New Jersey. According to a self-published, 435-page autobiography, *The Commission*, "It was not the cold blizzard of 1949, but the pounding hailstorm of Puerto Rican, Negro and Jewish immigrants upon our community which made that winter so severe.... A massive influx of foreign-born suddenly...rent the neighborhood apart.... In no time at all, one could hear Yiddish more than English spoken in many public places.... Kidnappings and murders were mentioned in hushed whispers, chilling us all to the bone."

Barrett later joined the army, serving a tour of duty in Vietnam. After his discharge, he attended Rutgers University and obtained a law degree from Tennessee's Memphis State University.

Upon moving to Mississippi, Barrett organized an annual "Spirit of America" event for over a decade. The celebration reportedly garnered the support of congressmen, governors, and local politicians from Mississippi and neighboring states as late as 1984, long after Barrett's racist views were publicly known. (The cochairman of the 1984 event was Bob Jones III, president of the racially discriminatory Bob Jones University.)

A Foray Into Politics

Barrett ran for governor of Mississippi in 1979 and came in last among six candidates, receiving two percent of the vote. He next ran for Congress in Mississippi's second district in 1984 and placed second. Running against three African-American men, Barrett described the race as a choice between "the cotton boll and the three lumps of coal."

The Forsyth County Defense League

The 1984 campaign was Barrett's last; since then, he has confined himself to hate movement organizing. The first of these activities was the Forsyth County Defense League, a Georgia-based group established in 1987 to defend Klansmen and other hatemongers who were being prosecuted at the time for using violence against civil rights marchers protesting segregation in that county. In January 1988, Barrett led a parade of 65 demonstrators, 40 of them robed Klansmen, through Forsyth County. In spite of the League's name, most area residents resented the publicity the group attracted; one policeman estimated that only about a dozen marchers actually lived in the county.

Bright Lights, Big City

Barrett returned to Georgia during the summer of 1988 to serve as coleader, along with veteran

extremists Ed Fields and J.B. [redacted] ner, of a racist demonstration at the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta. The march was stopped by police when violence from counter-demonstrators threatened to get out of hand. Barrett nonetheless returned to Atlanta the following January to protest the Martin Luther King holiday.

Though no longer affiliated with any hometown hatemongers, Barrett predicted that as many as 1000 followers would participate in the January march. He was joined by 7 extremists. They were met by over 1000 counter-demonstrators, some of whom violently attacked the police. In all, it took 400 city officers, 1000 National Guardsmen, 292 Georgia State Troopers, and 106 Georgia Bureau of Investigation agents to protect Barrett and his supporters.

An "Airlink" to Skinheads

In December 1988 Barrett held a "Warrior Weekend" for neo-Nazi skinheads in Learned to train them in paramilitary activity. Only a handful of skinheads attended; the "paramilitary" training consisted of the use of .22-caliber weapons. *The Jackson Clarion-Ledger* reported that the target used for rifle practice there was a picture of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Barrett also created a television program, "Airlink," to spread his message; at one time, he claimed it appeared on 30 public access stations nationwide. The series, which he has described as Nationalist television, or "N-TV," consists of 34 half-hour videos. Like Tom Metzger's "Race and Reason,"¹ on which Barrett has appeared, "Airlink" typically features interviews with racist extremists. One segment included a skinhead who read from a recruitment flier urging white students to make their schools "minority-free zones." To would-be adversaries, he stated, "If you are watching, communists, faggots, watch out. We're strong, we're growing, we're on the move, and we're gonna win the battle."

Barrett's Day in Court

In April 1992, Barrett represented himself before the U.S. Supreme Court. His case arose from a planned 1989 march in Forsyth County, which had been cancelled because Barrett refused to pay the county a \$100 fee; his challenge of the fee brought him to the High Court. Barrett's atrophied legal skills did little to impress the Justices, who frequently admonished him to keep to the specifics of his case. In closing, Barrett said he hoped his epitaph would read: "The road not taken, but not the speech not given."

"How about the argument not made," the Chief Justice replied. The Court nonetheless voted 5-4

that the county ordinance had obstructed Barrett's free-speech rights.

In Simi Valley

On June 6, 1992, only a month after the Los Angeles Riots, Barrett attempted to rally with six followers in Simi Valley, the site of the first trial of the police officers who beat Rodney King. Referring to the officers, Barrett told reporters, "I feel safer because there are men like the 'Gallant L.A. Four.'" Police halted his demonstration, which had been denounced by local officials, after violence erupted among some of the 300 counter-demonstrators.

Barrett returned to Simi Valley on September 12 with one follower. They were met by over 150 protesters; nearly 300 police officers were required to keep the peace, and reporters from every newspaper, radio, and television station covered the event.

Barrett Goes to Boston

Given his success in Simi Valley and Atlanta, Barrett decided to stage a rally in South Boston—the site of riots over school desegregation during the 1970s and the scene of a racial melee in 1993—in May 1994. Barrett stated that his march was to be a "pro-family, pro-majority event...honoring the American Home and American Family." His contacts in Boston included two white supremacists whom associates described as supporters of the KKK who "idolize Hitler."

The day before Barrett's march, Boston Mayor Thomas Menino hosted a unity rally with the Anti-Defamation League and the National Urban League; the event was attended by more than 400 people. Barrett, in contrast, drew 14 for a march that lasted 15 minutes. Over 800 police officers stood guard, at a cost to the city of over \$800,000.

Conclusion

For over a decade, Barrett has revealed himself as an ambitious but inept white supremacist organizer. There is no evidence that he maintains any sizable following. Indeed, *The Jackson Clarion-Ledger* recently reported that ministers of his own church were considering expelling him because of his racist views.

Nonetheless, Barrett continues to seek attention and sow discord despite the resounding repudiation he has received. Because violence and intimidation are so clearly encoded in his message, and because of the tensions his presence ignites, public safety demands that responsible attention be paid to his activities.



¹ See "Tom Metzger's Long March of Hate," ADL Special Edition.

Special Edition

January 1995

ADL

A periodic update from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith—Civil Rights Division

Arming for Armageddon

Colonel James "Bo" Gritz: Patriot or Extremist?

"Basically the Zionists are taking over and we Christians... have to go to camps twice a year to learn what's going on."

—Bo Gritz at Pete Peters' Bible Camp, Summer 1991

Colonel "Bo" Gritz, the former Green Beret and ex-Presidential candidate, has announced he is currently establishing a "Christian Covenant Community" in Kamiah, Idaho. There is strong evidence to suggest that the complex is a paramilitary one. Gritz is vehemently anti-gun control; he urges supporters to resist any attempts by the Federal government to take away their guns (based on his reading of the Second Amendment) and he leads weapons training sessions. In fact, his activities closely parallel those of the American "militia" movement.¹ *The New York Times* (Oct. 5, 1994) described the Gritz settlement as "likely to be the first community ever built around fear and hatred of the Federal government."

Gritz (rhymes with "lights"), a highly decorated Vietnam veteran, emerged as a hero when he assisted white supremacist Randy Weaver in surrendering to Federal authorities in August 1992 after they besieged Weaver's Idaho compound over weapons charges. The incident unquestionably helped his 1992 campaign for President on the Populist Party ticket; there were even "Bo for President" signs seen at the northern Idaho cabin where the event took place. Little mention was made in the press, however, of Gritz's own extremist ties and philosophy, or his conspiracy-oriented anti-Semitism.

Extremist Links and Views

Gritz has served for many years on the advisory board of the *Spotlight*, the periodical of Liberty Lobby, the largest and most influential anti-Semitic propaganda organization in America today. Additionally, Gritz has said about Lyndon LaRouche, the infamous political extremist and anti-Semitic conspiracy theorist who completed a Federal prison term for tax and mail fraud in January 1994: "I believe that Lyndon LaRouche is a political prisoner... Lyndon LaRouche was doing something right." According to Gritz, "If it [the LaRouche movement] was that bad for the Establishment... then it must be good for the interests of America." During his run for the Presidency, Gritz stated that if elected he would make LaRouche his Secretary of State.

Gritz is particularly fond of conspiracy theories; he asserts that AIDS is a Federal conspiracy to ease population growth, and that the government will in the future implant microchips in the hands of every American for identification and control purposes. Gritz also expresses deep concern about the alleged unmarked black heli-

copters that have reportedly been spotted in suburbs of the mid-West; this reference is a common theme in white supremacist conspiracy lore. Gritz has compared the U.S. government to the Soviet KGB and to the Gestapo in Nazi Germany. According to him:

The enemy you face today is a satanic overthrow where he [the President] could change the United States of America, a nation under God, into USA Incorporated... And a Zionist group that would rule over us as long as satan might be upon this earth, that is your enemy.

Finally, he believes that America is approaching Armageddon and therefore must prepare by stockpiling weapons and canned goods.

Though he has been a Mormon for many years, he recently asked to be stricken from the church's membership list, claiming he no longer wants to be part of a faith that "appears to be more controlled by the government than God." Allegedly, the conflict arose out of disagreement with the church concerning his failure to pay his income tax. Gritz seems to have found himself more at home among the white supremacist "Christian Identity" movement, which preaches that white Europeans are God's "chosen people," that Jews are "Satan's spawn" and that non-whites are "pre-Adamic" or "mud races." In fact, he has spoken at a number of retreats hosted by Pete Peters, a leader of the Identity movement. Peters also supplied partial funding for Gritz's book, *Called to Serve*.

Though Gritz claims not to be a white supremacist, he insists that people of color are "14th Amendment citizens who are not entitled to the privileges and immunities of the Citizen of the State." He goes on to add: "Forced integration is destroying the White Political Culture group known as State Citizens in all the States." Gritz has also expressed violently anti-gay attitudes, exemplified in the following quote:

There are first-degree murderers that deserve to be electrocuted. There are first-degree homosexuals who probably should be skinned alive.

Gritz denies with equal vehemence all charges that he is an anti-Semite, yet his words indicate otherwise. In *Called to Serve*, he argues that "eight Jewish families control the FED [Federal Reserve System]," and that "there is a star war going on today between the five-points of righteousness and six-points of Satan," obviously referring to the Jewish Star of David. Furthermore, at a forum

organized by Gritz in Las Vegas entitled "Freedom Call '90," one of the featured speakers was Eustace Mullins, a Hitler apologist and a longtime anti-Semite.

Finally, examining the support base and leadership positions of Gritz's '92 presidential campaign reveals a collection of white supremacists and anti-Semites. According to the Coalition for Human Dignity, a group that monitors right-wing extremist activity throughout the Northwest:

Gritz's '92 campaign leaders and contacts in the Northwest read like a who's who of Pacific Northwest Christian Patriots, Klansmen and neo-Nazis—Identity leader Chris Temple and hardcore anti-Semite Red Beckman in Montana, neo-Nazi Holocaust denier Harry Schmidt, Klan leader Kim Badynski and Christian Patriot John Prukop in Washington, and Christian Patriot Richard Flowers in Oregon.



Foray into Politics

In the 1988 Presidential election, Gritz was ex-Klan leader David Duke's running mate on the Populist Party ticket. The Populist Party was founded in 1984, largely by members and former members of the neo-Nazi and Klan movements. Its first leader was Willis Carto, the professional anti-Semite who founded Liberty Lobby and the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review. Gritz backed out of the race at the last minute, apparently because he was being overshadowed by Duke's Klan past. Then in 1992, Gritz ran for President, again on the Populist Party ticket, and received more than 100,000 votes, making him the fifth biggest vote-getter in the election.

His platform, entitled the "Bill of Gritz," called for, among other things, getting the U.S. out of the U.N., eliminating all foreign aid, prohibiting foreign ownership of American soil or companies, eliminating Supreme Court access to states rights questions such as school prayer, education and abortion, eliminating the Internal Revenue Service and the Federal Reserve System and lastly, establishing a Christian America. As he explained in his campaign literature:

America is a great Christian Nation! The Holy Bible is the word of God... Our entire government is structured on Christian principle—not Buddhist, Zionist, Islamic, Hindu, Shinto, Blasted, or Blest Dai. It has been clearly stated by our founding fathers that our government cannot remain intact and be separated from Christian ethic.

"If ballots don't do it in '92, bullets may have to in '96." (Gritz campaign slogan)

Paramilitary and Survivalist Training

Perhaps most disturbing is Gritz's use of paramilitary training and weapons stockpiling to further his bigoted goals. In 1993, he was a featured speaker at a survivalist "Preparedness Expo" in Phoenix, Arizona, which turned into a gathering of neo-Nazi, skinhead and other extremist groups. Additionally, several anti-Semitic books were on sale at the convention, including Mullins' *New History of the Jews* by Eustace Mullins, *Israel, Our Duty...Our Dilemma* by Theodore Winston Pike, and *The Six Million Dollar Swindle: Blackmailing the German People for Hard Marks with Fabricated Corpses* by Austin J. App.

Gritz leads survivalist paramilitary training sessions called Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events (SPIKE). According to Gritz's advertisements: "You will learn what weapon and ammunition type is best in times of grave peril; how to carry, draw, hold and efficiently engage multiple targets... Our classes will include instinctive, combat, and special purpose marksmanship. All weapons and ammunition will be furnished."

Gritz is currently creating a community on a 200-acre piece of land in Idaho called "Almost Heaven" and a twin community called "Shenandoah." Gritz's community seems to coincide with a common extremist plan called the "Northwest Imperative." Some white supremacists have declared as a central goal the establishment of a self-sufficient, anti-government, armed, all-white "national homeland" through immigration to the Northwest region of the U.S. Though he denies all accusations that the complex is paramilitary or white supremacist, Gritz has changed his story concerning the complex several times, first claiming the property was for a "summer retirement home." More recently he has attempted to liken his compound to a harmless self-contained community like that of the Amish:

There'll be no walled compound, no paramilitary training and no goose-stepping...What I want is an off-the-grid, self-reliant community like the Amish have. I want a place that does not have an umbilical cord to the government.

However, according to press accounts, all residents of the complex must sign a pledge to defend one another and Gritz urges all his followers to arm themselves. This, taken with his violently anti-government stance, his paramilitary training sessions and his record of extremism, suggests that there is cause for concern in his establishment of the complex. All this is particularly troubling considering Gritz's condemnation of Federal authorities as "traitors" in both the Randy Weaver incident and the Waco tragedy. As he puts it: "The FBI knows me and Special Forces know me... The last thing they want to do is tangle with me, because I'm trained in guerilla warfare."

Conclusion

Colonel Bo Gritz is violently anti-government; he has said that he will disobey laws that, in his interpretation, "go against the laws of God and common sense." He is involved in weapons-training, he has expressed anti-Semitic and racist views and has numerous extremist connections. For all these reasons, he and his followers illustrate the divisiveness and potential danger posed by such armed extremist groups.

Trial to Begin in Anti-U.S. "War of Terror"

Jury selection was scheduled to begin January 9, 1995 in the trial of Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman and a dozen other defendants charged with plotting to wage "a war of urban terrorism against the United States" by conspiring to blow up New York City tunnels, bridges and other landmarks, including the United Nations and Federal buildings.

The defendants are also charged with targeting FBI agents, Jewish merchants and such public figures as President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt.

In a revised indictment filed in October 1994, the federal government expanded its use of racketeering charges and focused major attention on Rahman, the blind cleric who is said to be the spiritual leader of the accused conspirators, and on El Sayid A. Nosair, a follower of Rahman, acquitted by a New York state court for the 1990 murder of Jewish militant Rabbi Meir Kahane in New York City.

(Nosair is serving a prison sentence in connection with events growing out of the Kahane killing.)

The October indictment said that Nosair "played a key role" in setting up in the U.S. a "Jihad organization" which, the government said, planned the terror campaign. The government charged that Nosair continued to help direct the conspiracy after he was convicted and imprisoned on other charges after the Kahane murder.

"Nosair," the indictment asserted, "organized paramilitary training for the conduct of Jihad acts both in the United States and overseas. Nosair also planned acts of terrorism, including, among other things, bombings, murders, and the taking of hostages."

Earlier, the bombing conspiracy trial, which had been scheduled to start on September 19, 1994, was postponed because defense attorneys William

Kuntsler and Ronald Kuby were disqualified from representing their last remaining client in the case.

U.S. Judge Michael B. Mukasey ruled that because the two attorneys had once represented other clients among the defendants in the case, they would be legally unable to cross-examine those clients aggressively or make arguments to the jury that might harm those defendants if the defense of their one remaining client — Ibrahim A. El-Gabrownny — required them to do so.

Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman is accused in the October indictment with not only plotting to murder President Hosni Mubarak but with solicitation to murder by trying to persuade some of his co-defendants to carry out the killing. The cleric is also accused of soliciting a government informant, Emad A. Salem, to bomb an American military installation.

New ADL Report Documents Record of Terror:

'Carlos the Jackal' Faces Retrial After '94 Capture in Sudan

Illich Ramirez Sanchez, 45, better known as Carlos the Jackal, the notorious world terrorist, was arrested in August 1994 in the Sudan after a record of bombings and killings in Western Europe during the 1970s and 1980s as agent of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and other terrorist groups.

Carlos was apprehended by Sudanese authorities following up information supplied by French security services which, along with other Western intelligence services, had been looking for him for 20 years.

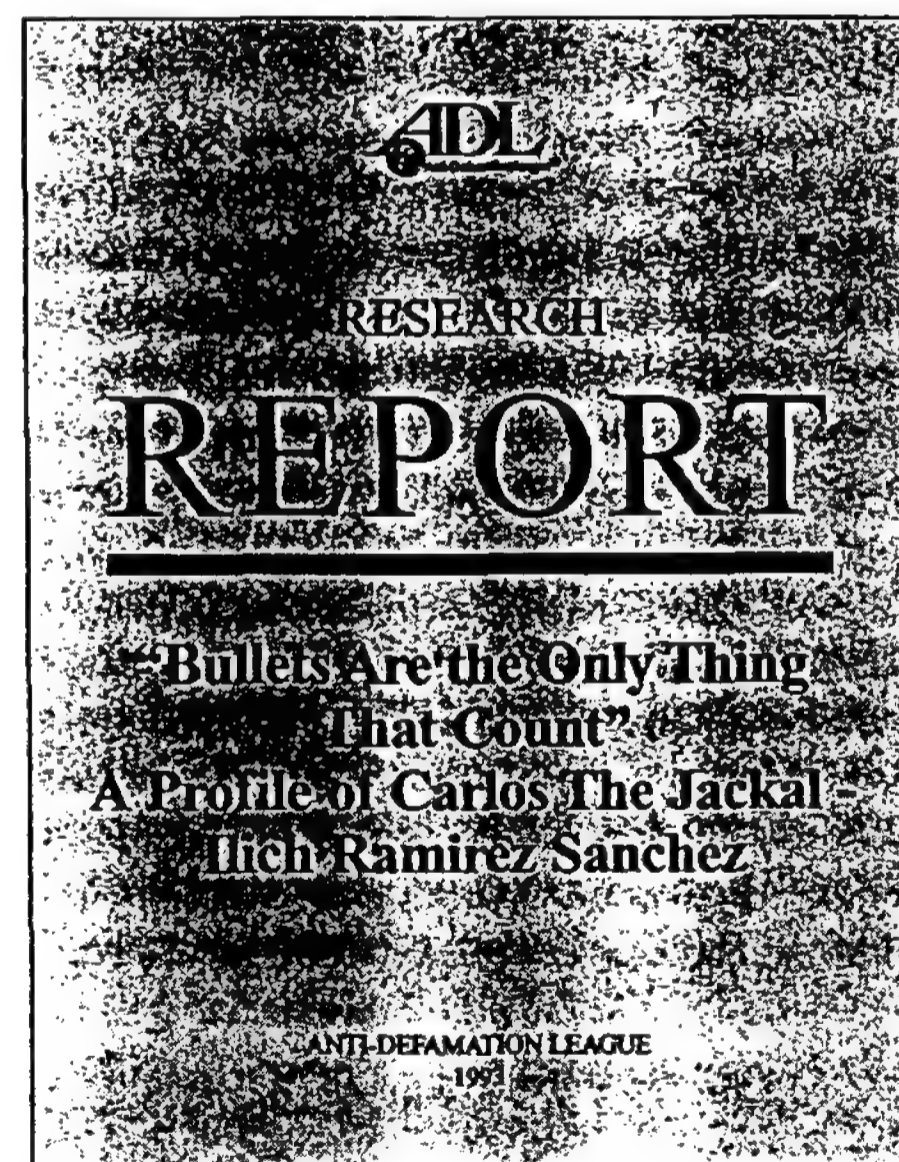
He was extradited to France where he will stand trial for crimes committed in France. In France, he was sentenced *in absentia* in 1992 to life imprisonment for killing two French counter-intelligence agents as they were about to arrest him in June 1975 in Paris. He is now to be re-tried.

French Interior Minister Charles Pasqua said that terrorist actions organized or carried out by Carlos had killed 15 persons and wounded 200 others in France alone.

Carlos lived in Damascus, Syria, for about 10 years until the start of 1994. He lived in Damascus with the former Magdalena Kopp, his long-time girlfriend and later his wife, with whom he had a daughter. Kopp was a German radical leftist who had been associated with terrorist groups like the Baader-Meinhoff gang and the Red Army Faction.

Carlos was born in Caracas, Venezuela, on October 12, 1949, a son of a prosperous Marxist lawyer who named his sons Vladimir, Illich and Lenin after the founder of the Soviet state.

Carlos joined the Communist Party in Venezuela as a teenager, was sent to Cuba for guerrilla training, and in 1968 won a scholarship to Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow, then a Soviet-run training ground for Third World students who often returned to their homelands as radical political activists. In less than two years, Carlos was dismissed from Lumumba University because of what was described as his taste for "high living" but not before he



had made lasting friendships with Arab Palestinian students, especially those identified with George Habash's Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a faction of the PLO.

Carlos trained in PFLP camps in Jordan and took part in the PLO's disastrous war during "Black September" in 1970, when the Jordanian Army inflicted a serious military defeat upon the Palestinians. The PLO soon launched a decade of terrorism

(continued on page 4)

New Anti-Crime Law

(continued from front page)

Terrorism Targeted

Largely overlooked in the intense coverage of the Congressional battle over the anti-crime bill were the provisions targeting terrorism and support for terrorism. (See box on right.)

One of the anti-terrorism provisions — Section 120005 — outlaws "material support to terrorists," including training, safe houses, false documents, communications, explosives and financial assistance and fundraising in support of terrorist activities.

The Anti-Defamation League praised the new law's provisions aimed at terrorism and assault weapons, and at providing stiffer federal sentences for bias crimes.

HAMAS Activities in the United States

In light of recent HAMAS terror attacks, including the October 19 suicide bombing of a Tel Aviv commuter bus which killed 23 people and the kidnapping and murder of an Israeli soldier a week earlier, renewed interest has been focused upon the organization and its sympathizers in the United States. The following is a brief summary of such activities:

HAMAS, the Islamic Resistance Movement in Palestine, is a radical Islamic extremist organization which calls for the eradication of Israel based on the theology of its "spiritual leader," Sheikh Ahmad Yassin. In its place, HAMAS envisions the immediate creation of an Islamic Palestinian state ruled by Islamic theocratic law, or the *shari'a*. The organization was founded by Sheikh Yassin in 1987, prior to the intifada, and the group published a declaration of its principles, the *HAMAS Charter*, in August of 1988. Expressing its position regarding Israel, the *HAMAS Charter* in its opening statement quotes the founder of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, Hasan al-Bana: "Israel will exist and will continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others

New Anti-Terrorism Provisions

The new Federal Anti-Crime Law contains a number of important provisions aimed at combatting terrorism. A summary of these sections follows.

- *Section 60019 – Violence on the High Seas.* Expands criminal jurisdiction for crimes committed on ships or fixed platforms (like oil rigs). Penalizes seizure, damage, or destruction of these facilities. Death penalty if death results.
- *Section 60020 – Torture.* Expands current law to permit the death penalty.
- *Section 60021 – Violence at Airports.* Penalizes terrorism-related violence and destruction of facilities or aircraft at international airports. Death penalty if death results.
- *Section 60022 – Terrorist Death Penalty Act.* Provides for death penalty for murder of U.S. national abroad.
- *Section 60023 – Weapons of Mass Destruction.* Criminalizes use or attempt to use chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons. Death penalty if death results.
- *Section 110102 – Assault Weapons.* Bans the manufacture, transfer, and possession of 19 assault weapons.
- *Section 120001 – Statute of Limitations.* Extends the statute to eight years for terrorism-related offenses.
- *Section 120002 – Crimes Against U.S. National on Foreign Ships.* Extends U.S. criminal jurisdiction for crimes by or against U.S. nationals if the foreign vessel is scheduled to arrive or depart U.S.
- *Section 120003 – Counterfeiting Abroad.* Prohibits making, dealing, or possessing either U.S. counterfeit currency or implements to create counterfeits abroad.
- *Section 120004 – Sentencing for Terrorist Crimes.* Directs the Sentencing Commission to amend its guidelines to provide an "appropriate enhancement" for felonies "intended to promote international terrorism" within or outside the U.S.
- *Section 120005 – Material Support for Terrorism.* Outlaws "material support to terrorists," including training, safehouses, false documents, communications, weapons, explosives, and financial assistance and fundraising in support of terrorist activities. Specifically excludes "humanitarian assistance to persons not directly involved in such violations" and includes an explicit limitation on investigations of "activities protected by the First Amendment...including expressions of support or the provisions of financial support for the nonviolent political, religious, philosophical, or ideological goals or beliefs of any person or group."
- *Section 130003 – Alien Witness Cooperation and Counterterrorism Information.* Provides for a limited number of visas to relocate and protect alien counterterrorism reward participants or other cooperative witnesses with critical information on terrorist organizations or criminal enterprises. The Attorney General has discretion to adjust a cooperating alien's status to permanent resident.
- *Section 130009 – Passport Fraud and Visa Violations.* Increases the penalties for these crimes.

before it."

Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP): In the United States, several organizations have been linked to pro-HAMAS activities. The Islamic Association for Palestine has published and distributed the *HAMAS Charter* and the organization's communiques issued from Gaza. In addition, the IAP has three of its own publications: the *Palestine Monitor* (now defunct), the *Muslim World Monitor* and an Arabic publication, *Al-Zaytoonah*. All of the publications are distributed from the IAP's offices in Dallas, Texas.

Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF): A separate organization, the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development is also located in Dallas, Texas. Formerly known as the Occupied Land Fund, it was previously headquartered in Los Angeles, California. In March 1993 the Holy Land Foundation denounced Israel's deportation of 413 HAMAS and Islamic Jihad activists and launched a special campaign to raise money for them and their families. The HLF's pledge card declared: "Yes. I can

(continued on page 4)

ADL to Reno: Appeal Lenient Abu Nidal Sentences

In a letter to Attorney General Janet Reno, the Anti-Defamation League and its Leon and Marilyn Klinghoffer Foundation urged the Justice Department to appeal the minimal sentences handed down in St. Louis to three members of the Abu Nidal terrorist organization.

"At a time when international terrorist activity has significantly increased," wrote David H. Strassler, ADL national chairman, and Abraham H. Foxman, ADL national director, "this is precisely the wrong signal to send concerning America's commitment to resist terrorism and punish perpetrators of terrorist acts."

Abu Nidal is described by the State Department as the world's most dangerous terrorist group; the case in St. Louis was the first indication that a cell was operating in the United States. The three defendants and a fourth man were indicted on charges they planned to kill Jews, blow up the Israeli Embassy in Washington and kill anyone who might divulge their plot. In July, they pled guilty to the federal racketeering charges.

The three members of Abu Nidal admitted they had funneled money and intelligence information abroad, fraudulently obtained passports for other members of the criminal enterprise, bought weapons, and recruited new members in furtherance of terrorist objectives.

According to the U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Missouri, the defendants could have faced up to 20 years in prison and a \$250,000 fine; U.S. District Judge Donald Stohr gave them 21 months. With credit for time already served, they might go free as early as January 1995.

(The ADL Klinghoffer Foundation was established in 1985 following the brutal murder of Leon Klinghoffer by Palestinian terrorists aboard the cruise ship Achille Lauro. Klinghoffer, in a wheelchair, was shot and then thrown overboard. The Foundation is dedicated to combatting terrorism through legal, educational and political means.)

HAMAS Activities in the United States

(continued from page 3)

and want to help needy families of Palestinian martyrs, prisoners and deportees."

In January of 1993, two Palestinian-Americans were arrested in Israel for attempting to transfer funds to the organization from the United States. At the time of their arrest, Muhammad Saleh, of Bridgeview, Illinois and Muhammad Hilmi Jarad of Chicago had already distributed \$100,000 to a "key military operative" in Gaza and \$60,000 to the commander of HAMAS' military arm in Ramallah. They were carrying an additional \$100,000 when they were arrested. Muhammad Jarad was tried and sentenced to six months in prison. He was released from prison in July of 1993 on the condition that he leave the country.

United Association for Studies and Research (UASR): A third organization linked to HAMAS activities is the United Association for Studies and Research (UASR) in Arlington, Virginia. Upon his arrest, Muhammad Saleh told Israeli investigators that Muhammad Qassam Sawalha was the "military chief" of the UASR who had ordered him to go to the West Bank and Gaza on a number of occasions in order to provide money for arms pur-

ADL Special Background Report:

Hamas, Islamic Jihad
and
The Muslim Brotherhood:
Islamic Extremists
and the
Terrorist Threat to America

1913 - 1993
ADL

ADL Special Background Report - Hamas, Islamic Jihad and The Muslim Brotherhood: Islamic Extremists and the Terrorist Threat to America - identifies the organizations and individuals who espouse violence and engage in terrorism against the U.S., Israel, and moderate Arab regimes.

chases, building new safe houses, recruitment of new members and assistance to fugitives. In June of 1993 Salah was charged with helping to "establish the military units of the HAMAS organization." He was indicted in October 1993 and scheduled to be tried in January of 1994.

How to Subscribe

To be placed on the mailing list for the Law Enforcement Bulletin, write on your official letterhead to Dept. GG, Anti-Defamation League, 823 U.N. Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Please give your title. There is no charge. To order any of the publications described in this issue, please call your nearest ADL office (see listing, page 7).

'Carlos the Jackal' Faces Retrial After '94 Capture in Sudan

(continued from page 2)

aimed at avenging the humiliating defeat.

French Interior Minister Pasqua quoted Carlos himself as stating that he was a mercenary at the disposal of "liberation movements" around the world "for the struggle against imperialism and Zionism."

In the 1970s and 1980s, Carlos was linked at one time or another with Germany's Red Army Faction, the Japanese Red Army terrorists, with the Basque separatist group known as the E.T.A., and with the Turkish Popular Liberation Front.

SECURITY

FOR
COMMUNITY
INSTITUTIONS
A Handbook

ADL has prepared a new, updated handbook on Security for Community Institutions. The ADL handbook was produced in cooperation with the Crime Prevention Section of the New York City Police Department. It provides practical measures for preventing, and coping with, destructive violence against persons and property. The material reflects ADL's experience in monitoring and countering hate crimes.

1913 - 1993
ADL

Enforcing Hate Crime Laws: Defusing Tensions and Advancing Police-Community Relations

By Michael Lieberman, Washington Counsel, Anti-Defamation League

(This article, in longer form, appeared first in the October, 1994 issue of *The Police Chief* and is reprinted with permission of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, 515 North Washington Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22314-2357.)

In partnership with human rights groups, the law enforcement community has played a leadership role in supporting hate crime penalty-enhancement and data collection initiatives. Police authorities have long recognized that tracking crime can help departments craft preventative strategies and allocate resources. By compiling statistics and charting the geographic distribution of hate crimes, police officials may be in a position to anticipate intergroup flash-points and prevent an escalation of tensions in the aftermath of a hate crime incident.

Law enforcement officials can advance police-community relations by demonstrating a commitment to be both tough on hate crime perpetrators and sensitive to the special needs of hate crime victims. As stated in the IACP National Law Enforcement Policy Center's Concepts and Issues Paper on Hate Crime (1991): "Swift and effective response to hate crimes helps to generate the degree of trust and goodwill between the community and its law enforcement agency that has long-term benefits for all concerned."

With reported cases of hate violence on the increase — and constitutional questions about penalty-enhancement statutes now settled — the time is ripe to promote the expanded adoption of hate crime policies and procedures for law enforcement.

Hate Crime Statutes: A Message to Victims and Perpetrators

At present, forty-six states and the District of Columbia have enacted some type of statute addressing hate violence. In *Wisconsin v. Mitchell*, decided in June, 1993, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upheld the constitutionality of a Wisconsin hate crime penalty-enhancement statute similar to laws in more than two dozen other states. The Court's approval of this statutory approach, first drafted by the Anti-Defamation League in 1981, removes any doubt that state legislatures may properly increase the penal-

ties for criminal activity in which the victim is targeted because of his/her race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity. Under these laws, no one is punished merely for bigoted thoughts, ideology, or speech. But when prejudice prompts an individual to act on these beliefs and engage in criminal conduct, a prosecutor may seek a more severe sentence.

A similar federal hate crime measure, the Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act, was enacted into law as part of the omnibus crime bill in September. This measure mandates increased penalties for federal crimes when the victim is targeted because of race, religion, sexual orientation, national origin, ethnicity, disability, or gender. The legislation was sponsored by Reps. Charles Schumer (D-NY) and James Sensenbrenner (R-WI), and Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA).

The Hate Crime Statistics Act (Public Law 101-275): Steady Progress and Significant Promise

Enacted in 1990, the federal Hate Crime Statistics Act (HCSA) requires the Justice Department to acquire data on crimes which "manifest prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity" and to publish an annual summary of the findings. Recognizing that the credibility and usefulness of this data will depend on the quality of the reports, the FBI has arranged training seminars and developed a fine model curriculum for state and local law enforcement authorities on how to identify, report, and respond to hate crime. Over the past three years, the Bureau has conducted HCSA training seminars for over 3200 law enforcement officials, from over 1000 agencies, across the country.

Yet, many police departments have failed to report hate crime statistics over the course of the first three years of the HCSA program, citing, among other concerns, the burden of additional paperwork, fears about negative publicity, or budget constraints.

In fact, however, when local implementation of the HCSA is done in partnership with community-based organizations, the effort should enhance police-community relations and demonstrate a department's resolve to treat these inflammatory crimes seriously.

Early HCSA Data: A Foundation on Which to Build

In January, 1993, the Bureau released its first HCSA report, documenting a total of 4,558 hate crimes for 1991, reported from almost 2,800 police departments in 32 states. The Bureau's 1992 data, released in March, 1994, documented 7,466 hate crime incidents reported from more than twice as many agencies, 6,182 — representing 41 states and the District of Columbia. The 1993 data, released at oversight hearings on June 28 before the Senate Judiciary Constitution Subcommittee, revealed that the FBI collected data on 7,684 incidents from 6,840 agencies in 46 states and the District of Columbia.

The 6,840 participating departments for 1993 — though only a fraction of the nation's 16,000 agencies — reflect well on the FBI's initial HCSA outreach and education efforts. But much work remains to be done, as evidenced by findings from the jurisdiction-by-jurisdiction report for 1992 data:

- Law enforcement agencies in only twenty of the thirty largest cities in America (and 52 of the largest 100) reported hate crime data to the FBI for 1992.

- Only 18% of the almost 6,200 agencies that provided 1992 HCSA data to the FBI reported any hate crimes — the other 82% reported that they had zero hate crimes in their jurisdiction.

- Nine states did not have a single agency reporting HCSA data for 1992 — and the FBI received virtually no reports from California, the District of Columbia, North Carolina, and Georgia.

The first three years of HCSA reports, though obviously an incomplete picture, reveal useful information about victims and perpetrators of hate violence:

- More than 60% of the almost 20,000 reported hate crime incidents were race-based. Crimes committed against individuals on the basis of their religion were the second largest category, followed by crimes committed on the basis of sexual orientation and ethnicity.

- About 36% of the reported crimes were anti-Black, and 20% of the crimes anti-White. Crimes against Jews and Jewish institutions comprised the vast majority of the religion-based crime — about 16% of the total reported incidents.

(continued on page 7)

Extremist Profile: DAVID E. LANE

David E. Lane, a racial agitator, anti-Jewish activist, former Ku Klux Klansman, ex-neo-Nazi, and radical-right revolutionary, is serving a combined 190-year sentence for racketeering and conspiracy, and for violating the civil rights of Denver radio personality Alan Berg, who was murdered outside his home in 1984. Although he is incarcerated in the federal prison in Florence, Colorado, with no hope of eligibility for parole until 2037, Lane remains a voice that is heard in the hate movement; his writings are published in several leading extremist periodicals.

Now 55, Lane was one of 10 members of the Far Right revolutionary gang known as The Order who were convicted of racketeering and conspiracy in 1985; their goal was to launch a race war against blacks and Jews and to establish a separate white nation in the western U.S. Since going to prison, Lane's writings have appeared in extremist publications such as the neo-Nazi tabloid *The New Order*, in *WAR*, organ of the California-based White Aryan Resistance, and in *The Klansman*, published by The Invisible Empire Ku Klux Klan.

Lane first came to the attention of authorities in 1979 as the Denver organizer of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (see also story below), founded in 1975 by David Duke.

An "Aryan" Leader

In late 1981, Lane became Colorado State Organizer of Aryan Nations, a violence-prone hate group headquartered in Hayden Lake, Idaho. The group's insignia resembles a swastika, and it has called upon "Aryan Warriors" to oppose "the lying murdering Jews."

In 1982, Lane left Denver to live in the Hayden Lake compound, where he served as the Aryan Nations "propaganda minister." In 1983, Lane returned to Colorado to take charge of the Colorado "headquarters" of the White American Political Association, or WAPA, a California-based white supremacist group founded by Tom Metzger and now known as WAR.

It was at this time that Lane joined extremist leader Robert Mathews in The Order. Subsequently, Lane reportedly operated a covert message center in Boise, Idaho, for participants in a July 1984 Brinks armored-car robbery in Ukiah, California, which netted The Order \$3.6 million.

Caught and Convicted

Lane was apprehended by the FBI on March 30, 1985 in North Carolina. In a trial held in Seattle, Lane was convicted on December 30, 1985, with nine other members of The Order, for racketeering. He received a 40-year sentence.

In October, 1986, Lane was moved from

a medium security federal prison in Indiana, to a maximum security penitentiary in Illinois, because of his continued extremist activities behind bars. In 1991, Lane was relocated to the prison in Leavenworth, Kansas, and in 1994 to the prison in Florence, Colorado.

In April 1987, Lane was indicted with three others on charges of violating Alan Berg's civil rights resulting from the June 18, 1984, machine-gun slaying; Lane was accused of driving the getaway car. Found guilty in November 1987, Lane was sentenced the following month to a 150-year prison term with no parole eligibility until the first 50 years have been served.

Philosopher of Hate

Lane's racist activities have continued in jail. Many of Lane's writings conclude with what he terms "the 14 words." They are: "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children."

In a 1992 interview in *WAR*, Lane stated: "[W]e must use all our abilities and resources in a calculated and ever ruthless manner. Whether you choose literature distribution, armed resistance, financially supporting others, or some other method of struggle, do it with wisdom, determination and perseverance.

Asked for his advice to others, he replied, "Disciplined fanaticism!"

Clearly, Lane's incendiary rhetoric of hate carries the potential for inspiring violence far beyond the confines of his cell.

Disarray Confronts Knights of the KKK

Recent defections from the Arkansas-based Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the nation's largest KKK faction, have set off a competition for the allegiances of members and potential recruits. The chief issue in the formation of two splinter groups is the Klan's tactical direction.

To stem membership losses and make the Klan more palatable to a larger potential base of supporters, the Knights' leader, Thom Robb, 48, has attempted to clean up the Klan's rhetoric — "we don't hate blacks, we just love whites" — and has renounced violence. He has staged rallies around the South and the Midwest, instructing followers to leave their guns and robes at home and dress respectably. The upshot: some new recruitment, but also restiveness among hard-core members who believe Robb's watered-down tactics betray Klan traditions and purposes.

Despite Robb's efforts, he is swimming against the current. The Klan has always

drawn to its ranks hard-core racists who favor an extremist message and tactics, so that even cosmetic attempts at moderation are difficult to pull off. Two recently formed breakaway groups have promised a return to more traditional Klan militancy.

Last April a split from the Knights was led by Chicagoan Ed Novak (true name: Ed Melkonian). Novak was Thom Robb's Illinois Grand Dragon (state leader), national Nighthawk (security chief), and a member of the Knights' Grand Council. Novak is known in the Klan as an advocate of secrecy, and of being well-armed.

Novak's group — the Federation of Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan — drew away a sizable portion of Robb's followers in Illinois, Alabama, Kentucky, Colorado, and elsewhere. His group is promising less talk and more action. Novak began his extremist career in the neo-Nazi National Socialist Party of America, and his neo-Nazi beliefs have stayed with him.

More recently, in August, Klan leaders from Michigan, Indiana and Illinois led a second walkout from Robb's organization, claimed the Knights' name for themselves, and pronounced Robb deposed as national director. (Robb responded by tossing them out of his Knights.) In a sign of a return to the old ways, the new faction held a rally in Lafayette, Ind., in which members dressed in full Klan regalia, showing little trace of moderation.

The man tapped to lead the mutinous outfit, David Neumann, 40, of Michigan has reportedly said: "Thom Robb is a poor example of a Klansman. He comes off as a young Republican, not as a racist."

Yet another problem facing Robb is some grousing in the ranks about the designation of his daughter, Rachel Pendergraft, to fill the seat on the Grand Council vacated when Novak bolted. (Robb's two sons also play prominent roles.) Som

(continued on back page)

Enforcing Hate Crime Laws

(continued from page 5)

■ Crimes against persons made up well over 70% of the offenses reported to the FBI — including 37 murders. Intimidation was the most frequently reported crime, followed by destruction/damage/vandalism to property, and assaults.

Agenda for Law Enforcement

The fundamental cause of hate violence in the United States is the persistence of racism, bigotry, and anti-Semitism. Unfortunately, there are no quick, complete solutions to these problems — legislative or otherwise. Attention has turned to education and outreach to assist bias crime victims and to apprehend perpetrators:

■ The establishment of specifically-focused departmental policies and procedures for addressing hate violence is a proactive step which will send a strong message to victims and would-be perpetrators that hate crimes are not pranks and that police officials take them seriously. Every department should adopt a written policy, signed by the Chief, to effectively respond to hate violence in a priority manner.

■ Departments should take steps to ensure comprehensive local implementation of the HCSA and every agency should train its officers in how to identify, report, and respond to hate violence.

■ To ensure that hate crime data is not collected in a vacuum, state-wide tracking and trend analysis centers, such as the Bias Crime and Community Relations Office in New Jersey and the Maryland Racial, Religious, and Ethnic Intimidation Advisory Committee, should be established across the country.

■ Every state should enact a penalty-enhancement hate crime statute. While bigotry and prejudice cannot be out-

lawed, hate crime statutes demonstrate an important commitment to confront criminal activity motivated by prejudice.

All Americans have a stake in effective response to violent bigotry. Enactment of the HCSA has dramatically increased awareness of the problem and implementation across the country has sparked improvements in the overall response of the criminal justice system to hate crimes. Effective response by public officials and law enforcement authorities can play an essential role in deterring and preventing hate violence.

The response to a series of racist and anti-Semitic incidents in Billings, Montana last Fall provides a good example of police-community partnership in confronting hate violence. Following incidents of intimidation and violence against Blacks, Native Americans, and one incident in which a cinder block was thrown through the bedroom window of a five year-old Jewish boy, the community united to draw the line against hate, comforting the victims, and isolating the bigots. The window shattered in the Jewish home had been decorated with a Menorah in preparation for the celebration of Chanukah. The Billings *Gazette* printed paper Menorahs and thousands of citizens placed these Jewish symbols in windows of shops and homes around town in a statement of solidarity with the victims.

Police Chief Wayne Inman, through his vigorous investigation of the crimes and in public statements denouncing bigotry and encouraging support for the victims, set a high moral tone and sent the strong message that residents should not remain silent in the face of bigotry.

ADL stands ready to continue to work with the IACP, Congress, the FBI, educators, and public officials to enhance public awareness and improved public responses to hate violence.



At a 1994 press conference in Chicago, Cook County State's Attorney Jack O'Malley discusses "A Prosecutor's Guide to Hate Crimes," the first publication of its kind in the nation; ADL helped in its preparation. L to R: Michael Sandberg, ADL Midwest Civil Rights Director; Jim Ryan, then DuPage County State's Attorney and now Attorney General of Illinois; Mr. O'Malley; and Howard Kaplan, Chair, Cook County Hate Crime Prosecution Council, and member, ADL regional board.

Racist Killer Confesses to Murder at Synagogue

Joseph Paul Franklin, an avowed racist and anti-Semite currently incarcerated at the Marion, IL, federal prison for several racial killings, has confessed to the previously unsolved sniper killing of a man leaving a Bar Mitzvah service in St. Louis, MO, in 1977.

Franklin, a former member of the Ku Klux Klan and the neo-Nazi National Socialist White People's Party, was previously sentenced to two life terms for killing two black joggers in Salt Lake City in 1980. He was subsequently tried and acquitted in the 1980 shooting of Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. then president of the National Urban League.

Franklin, who was born James Clayton Vaughan, Jr., in Mobile, Alabama, on April 13, 1950, has been a suspect in numerous slayings of both blacks and whites. In 1986 he was convicted of the 1977 slaying of an

(continued on back page)

Anti-Defamation League

NATIONAL OFFICE	(212) 490-2525
WASHINGTON OFFICE	(202) 452-8320
REGIONAL OFFICES	
ALBUQUERQUE	(505) 823-2712
ARIZONA	(602) 274-0991
ATLANTA (Southeast)	(404) 262-3470
BOSTON (New England)	(617) 330-9696
CHICAGO (Greater Chicago/Wisconsin)	(312) 782-5080
CLEVELAND (Northern Ohio)	(216) 579-9600
COLUMBUS (Ohio/Indiana/Kentucky)	(614) 621-0601
CONNECTICUT	(203) 787-4281
DALLAS (Northwest Texas/Oklahoma)	(214) 960-0342
D.C. (D.C./MARYLAND)	(202) 452-8310
DENVER (Mountain States)	(303) 321-7177
DETROIT (Michigan)	(810) 355-3730
HOUSTON (Southwest)	(713) 627-3490
LOS ANGELES (Pacific Southwest)	(310) 446-8000
MIAMI (Florida)	(305) 373-6306
NEW JERSEY	(201) 669-9700
NEW ORLEANS (South Central)	(504) 522-9534
NEW YORK CITY (New York City, Westchester, Rockland, Putnam and Long Island)	(212) 490-2525
NEW YORK STATE	(518) 446-0038
OMAHA (Plains States)	(402) 333-1303
ORANGE COUNTY	(714) 973-4733
PALM BEACH COUNTY	(407) 832-7144
PHILADELPHIA (Eastern Pennsylvania/Delaware)	(215) 735-4267
SAN DIEGO	(619) 293-3770
SAN FRANCISCO (Central Pacific)	(415) 981-3500
SEATTLE (Pacific Northwest)	(206) 448-5349
ST. LOUIS (Missouri/Southern Illinois)	(314) 432-6868
VIRGINIA/NORTH CAROLINA	(804) 455-9002

OVERSEAS OFFICES	
JERUSALEM	011-972-2-251-171
CANADA League for Human Rights of Canadian B'nai Brith	(416) 633-6227

Disarray Confronts KKK

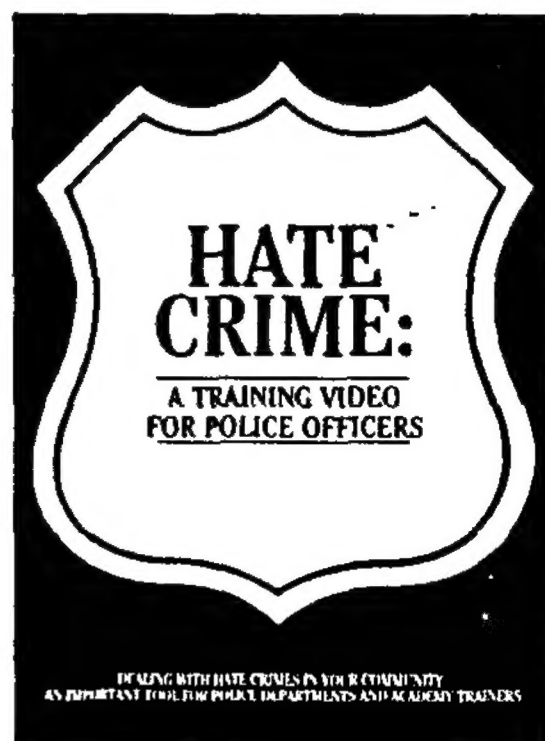
(continued from page 6)

Knights are rankled by the nepotism, but others seem more angry over the presence of a woman in so high a position.

The mutinies in the Robb organization are part of a larger pattern of disarray in the Klan movement, which is more splintered now than ever. Membership in all factions combined has slipped from approximately 10,000 in 1981 to about 4,000 today. As time passes, fewer Americans seem receptive to the Klan, making the survival of new groups such as Novak's and Neumann's uncertain.

As yet, the splintering of the Knights of the KKK has not led to violence. But the strong resistance to attempts to paper over the Klan's historic reputation for militant white supremacy suggests that the Klan movement continues to warrant the scrutiny of law enforcement.

Hate Crime: A Police Training Video



Produced by the Anti-Defamation League in cooperation with the New Jersey Department of Law and Public Safety, this new video portrays actual incidents of criminal activity motivated by hate. It dramatically illustrates the impact of this type of crime on the victim and the victim's community. Most importantly, the video concisely outlines appropriate law enforcement response-by detailing how to identify hate crime and how to deal with the victim's trauma, and by underlining the importance of treating this criminal action seriously.

The video has received the endorsement of the U.S. Attorney General and the International Association of Chiefs of Police, among others.

"Hate Crime: A Police Training Video" is 17 minutes long and can be purchased from the Material Resource Center of the Anti-Defamation League, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

VHS 1/2" video cassette \$80.00
An instructor's discussion manual
accompanies the video.

Guilty Verdict in Brooklyn Bridge Murder

On December 1, a Manhattan jury found Rashid Baz, a 28-year-old Lebanese immigrant, guilty of one count of murder and 14 counts of attempted murder for firing into a crowded van crossing the Brooklyn Bridge last March 1, killing one Hasidic Jewish student and injuring 3 others.

Baz could receive a minimum sentence of 140 years, since New York law requires that the penalties be served consecutively. He was to be sentenced on January 18, 1995.

Racist Killer Confesses to Murder at Synagogue

(continued from page 7)

interracial couple in Madison, Wisconsin. He was convicted in 1984 of a bombing that destroyed the Beth Shalom Synagogue in Chattanooga, Tennessee on July 29, 1977, but the conviction was later overturned.

Investigators said they had suspected Franklin of the St. Louis killing for more than 10 years after tracing the rifle used in the killing to him. But they said they did not have enough evidence to charge him until he confessed in October. If convicted, Franklin could be sentenced to death.

New ADL Report

(continued from front page)

National Guard Armory in Pulaski, VA.

A rising star in the movement is Linda Thompson, an Indiana lawyer. Thompson was arrested last summer for blocking a busload of supporters of President Clinton's health care plan. At the time police found her, she was carrying two pistols and had an assault weapon with 295 rounds of ammunition.

Militias calling themselves Patriots are emerging across Colorado. The Patriots' propaganda claims the federal government has betrayed the people and the Constitution through laws regarding "home schooling, abortion, taxation, freedom of speech and religion and gun control."

In Florida, a militia handbook includes anti-Semitic and anti-black publications. Militia activity also has been observed in Arizona, Idaho, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Mexico, and Ohio.

The report concludes that the responsibility for confronting this problem rests with law enforcement. "Numerous states have legislation regarding paramilitary training on the books," said ADL National Director Abraham H. Foxman. "Some of these laws were based on model legislation initially drafted by ADL in the 1980s. We urge states that do not have such laws to pass them now."

"We recognize the right of all people to hold and promote their views," Foxman added, "but there is no right to use force or violence to impose ideas on others or to resist laws properly enacted."

Anti-Defamation League
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
(212) 490-2525

Non Profit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
New York, NY
Permit No.7480

LAW ENFORCEMENT BULLETIN

A periodic update from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

This publication has been made possible through

a grant from the William and Naomi Gorowitz Institute On Terrorism and Extremism

New ADL Report Reveals Militias Preparing for War with U.S. Government

Angry bands of gun-toting right-wing militants, calling themselves militias, are preaching armed resistance against the federal government, and the issue most agitating them is gun control, says a new report by the Anti-Defamation League.

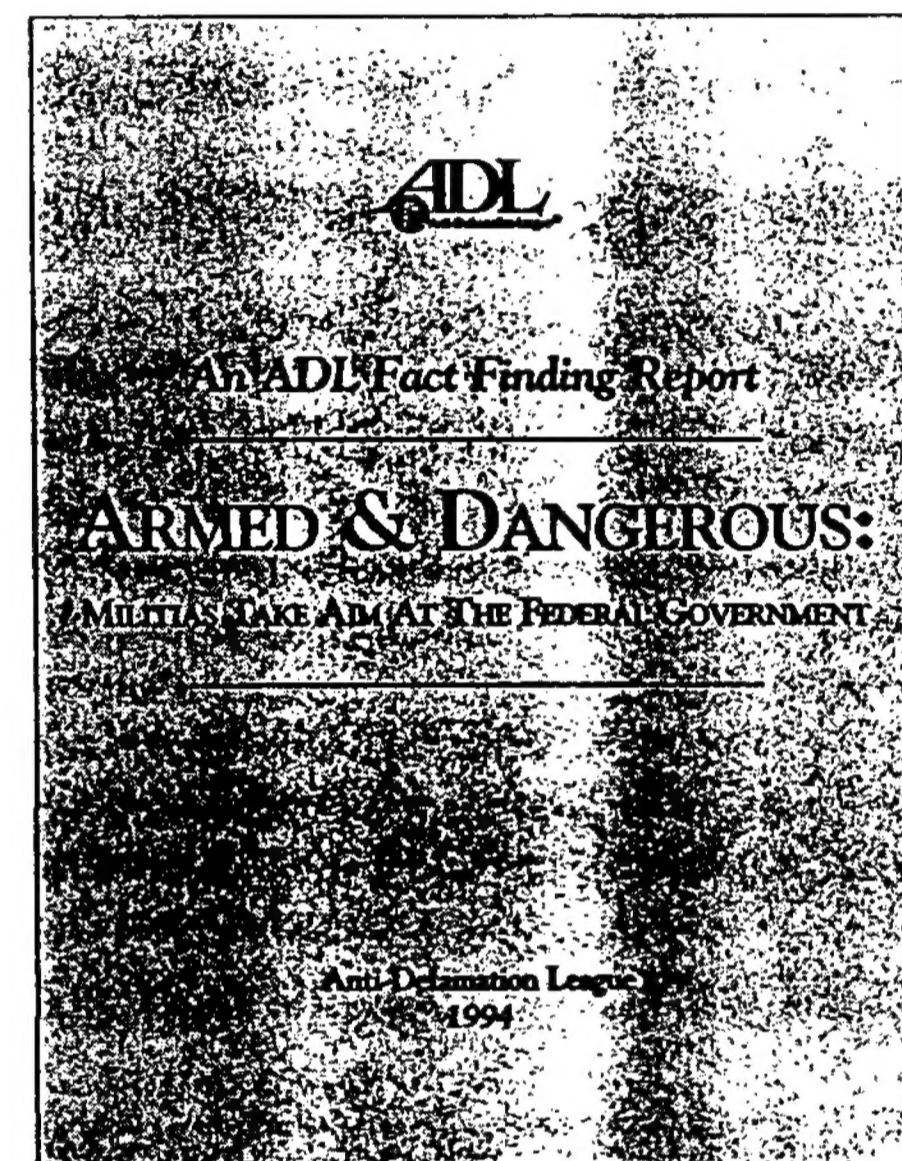
Armed and Dangerous: Militias Take Aim at the Federal Government, reveals evidence of activities by these paramilitary groups in at least 13 states. Some of the groups are sharing propaganda materials and speakers.

The report, prepared by ADL's Fact Finding Department, states that militia ideologues have embraced conspiracy fantasies and are "obsessed with the role of government in two recent events — the Branch Davidian confrontation in Waco and the Randy Weaver siege in Idaho — which they interpret as signs of impending tyranny." They are equally agitated by the Brady gun control law and the federal

crime bill ban on 19 assault weapons.

Leaders include John Trochmann, who with his brother and nephew heads the Militia of Montana, one of the most visible and extreme such groups in the country. The Trochmanns have had ties to the Aryan Nations, an Idaho-based hate organization that promotes anti-Semitism and the establishment of a white racist state. Expressing the group's attitude toward violence, John Trochmann is quoted as saying, "We don't want bloodshed. We want to use the ballot box and the jury box. We don't want to go to the cartridge box. But we will if we have to."

In North Carolina, the leader of Citizens for the Reinstatement of Constitutional Government, Albert Esposito, urges his members to amass caches of the "Four B's: Bibles, bullets, beans and bandages." Many members own semiautomatic weapons, including AR-15's and AK-47's.



Members of the Blue Ridge Hunt Club in Virginia were arrested for stockpiling illegal weapons. A draft newsletter described the group's intended reliance on terrorist tactics. According to law enforcement authorities, the group's plans included a weapons heist from the
(continued on back page)

New Anti-Crime Law

\$30 Billion to Bolster Law Enforcement; Also Targets Terrorism, Bias Crime, Assault Weapons

The anti-crime legislation adopted in the summer of 1994 and signed into law by President Clinton on September 13 provides \$30 billion for additional police officers on the nation's streets. The new law also provides funding for crime prevention programs, stiffer sentences for the convicted, and construction of more prisons. In addition, the law bans the manufacture, sale and possession of 19 types of assault weapons.

The legislative package, called by the President "the toughest and smartest crime bill in our history," also contains provisions targeting terrorism (see box, page 3) and calls for stiffer penalties for federal crimes motivated by prejudice and bigotry — the first Federal anti-bias crime provision of its kind, and similar to ADL model legislation already in force in more than 30 states.

The new law provides \$10.8 billion

nationally to aid state and local law enforcement, including \$8.8 billion in subsidies to help the hiring of new law enforcement officers by states and localities. It also provides \$6.9 billion to support crime prevention programs, \$9.9 billion for prisons, including \$7.9 billion to help build thousands of new cells, and \$2.2 billion for Federal law enforcement operations.

(continued on page 3)